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C. RABIN

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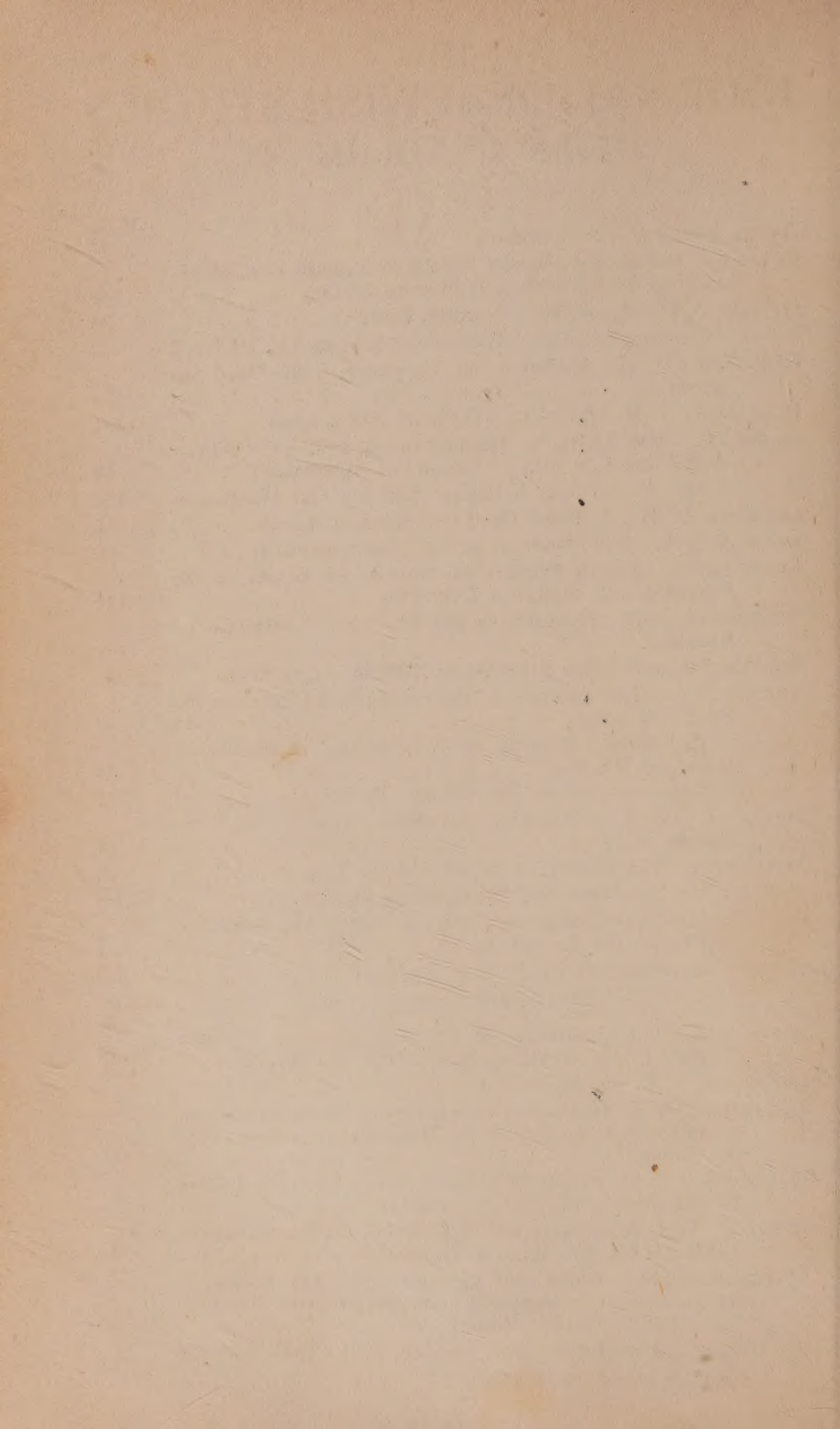
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The Editorial Board of *The Journal of Jewish Studies* announces with great sorrow the death of the Rev. Dr. Herbert Danby, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford and Member of the Advisory Board of the *Journal*, which occurred while this issue was being prepared for press. An Obituary Notice will appear in the next issue of *The Journal of Jewish Studies*.

THE TEACHING OF THE PRE-PAULINE CHURCH IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS—III

(Continued from Vol. III, No. 4)

In the present section of this study I shall attempt to show, from relevant passages from the New Testament and other sources, that the significant concepts contained in the Scrolls are identical with those that prevailed in the Jerusalem Church. For convenience of exposition I shall group the material under separate headings.

1. THE CONCEPT OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY, קהילה

The origin of the Christian community, or Church, in Jerusalem and of its characteristic feature the *koinonia*, community of goods, is described in two accounts in the Acts, chapters ii and iv,¹ both of which relate the significant circumstance that the *koinonia* followed immediately upon the descent of the "Holy Spirit." In Acts ii, 1, 4, 44, we read:

And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. . . . And they were filled with the Holy Ghost. . . . And all that believed were together and had all things common. . . .

In Acts iv, 31-32, we read again:

And when they had prayed, the place was shaken where they were assembled together; and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they spake the word of God with boldness. And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common (*panta koina*).

It emerges clearly from these passages that the *koinonia* was the result of the descent of the "Holy Spirit"—a point that should be stressed²; but the exact meaning of the expressions used: "of

¹ The question whether the two accounts refer to two different events or to the same one has no bearing upon the discussion here.

² Many scholars deny, but without reason, that the Apostolic Church in Jerusalem was "pneumatic," as, for example, M. GOGUEL, *La Naissance du Christianisme (Jésus et les Origines du Christianisme, II)*, Paris, 1946, pp. 112-115. H. BERTRAMS, *Das Wesen des Geistes, etc.*, in *Neutest Abhand*, IV (1913), p. 47 (continuation of note 4 on p. 46), states that there is no evidence that the religious and spiritual life of the Christians in Jerusalem was recognised by them as the effect of the "Holy Spirit." ("Aber der Nachweis ist nicht zu erbringen dass es [das religiösgeistige Leben] als Geisteswirkung erkannt war.") This seems to me to be hair-splitting. Although it is not explicitly stated that the *koinonia* was the effect of the "Holy Spirit," the description of its origin is quite unmistakable. Indeed, the "Nachweis," required by BERTRAMS, is contained in Acts II, 33-35: "And with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus: and great grace was upon them all. Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need." The result of the "great grace"—the descent of the "Holy Spirit"—was that all obeyed the call, and the *koinonia* was formed.

one heart," "of one soul," "all things common," i.e., "one possession," is not clear at first sight. The commentaries are, as far as I know, silent on this point, but it is beyond doubt that this triad of expressions derives from the biblical commandment, Deut. vi, 5, the שמע: "And thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thine heart (לבבך), and with all thy soul (נפשך), and with all thy possessions (מאדך).

The source of the Christian *koinonia* is, thus, the passage in Deut. vi, 5—and with good cause. For it was Jesus himself who said that on this commandment, and on that of Lev. xix, 18: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," "hang all the Law and the Prophets" (Matt. xxii, 40), and that "there is none other commandment greater than these" (Mark xii, 31). The institution of the *koinonia* must, therefore, be considered the fulfilment, through the instrumentality of the "Holy Spirit," of Jesus' saying.

Let us now turn to the main passage in the "Discipline Scroll" dealing with the institution of the יחד. We read in Plate I, lines 11-13:

וכול הנדבים לאמתו יביאו כול דעתם וכוחם ו והונם ביחד אל לבר
דעתם באמת חוקי אל וכוחם לחכן כתם דרכיו וכול הונם כעצת צדקו.

And all those who dedicate themselves to God's truth [i.e., to life in the "Spirit of Truth"] shall consecrate¹ all their "mind" [or "understanding"], their "strength," and their "possessions" unto the "Divine Union" [or "God's Unity"], in order to purify their "mind" through God's truthful laws and conduct their "strength" [i.e., their moral life] in accordance with God's perfect ways and administer their "possessions" in accordance with the dictates of His justice.

In this passage, which contains, if one may say so, the charter of the "Fellowship or Community of Truth,"² prescribing that the thoughts, emotions, and moral life, and the administration of property ought to be inspired and directed by God's Spirit of Truth, the triad of expressions: דעת, כוח, הון (mind or understanding, strength, possessions), calls at once for attention. It is easy to recognise that these expressions are the equivalent of לבב, נפש, מאד (heart, soul, possessions), contained in the passage Deut. vi, 5, which, as indicated above, was the inspiration of the Christian *koinonia*. In fact, the equation of מאד with הון is, though indirectly, rabbinical³; and the equation of כוח with נפש

¹ להביא קרבן derived from the phrase to "bring a sacrifice,"

² יחד אמת, *Discipline Scroll*, II, 24.

³ *Berakhoth*, IX, 5: בכל מאדך בכל ממונך. Here, *me'od* is equated with "money," but in the *Discipline Scroll* with "wealth." The difference is not material. But, we may ask, why is it that the author of the Scroll uses "wealth," not "money"? He was apparently thinking in Greek and had in mind the word *chrema*, meaning both "goods, wealth" and "money," which he expressed by "hon." In fact, *keseif* in Job xxvii, 17, is rendered in the LXX as *chrema*.

is established beyond doubt if we examine the quotation of Deut. vi, 5, in the Greek text of the Gospel. The striking feature here is that the Hebrew expressions are rendered in Greek twice over. Thus, **לבב** (heart) is represented by two expressions, *kardia* (heart) and *dianoia* (mind) in Matt. xxxii, 37; Mark xii, 30; and Luke x, 27; and, again, by two expressions (one of which differs from the above), *kardia* and *synesis* (understanding), in Mark xii, 33. The Hebrew **דעת** of the "Discipline Scroll" is the equivalent of either *dianoia* or *synesis*. The case of **נפש** (soul) is similar. This expression is represented by two Greek terms, *psyche* (soul) and *ischus* (strength) in Mark xii, 30, and Luke x, 27, and, again, by two terms (one of which differs from the above), *psyche* and *dunamis* (power), in some manuscripts of Mark xii, 33. The Hebrew **כוח** of the "Discipline Scroll" is the equivalent of either *ischus* or *dunamis*.

This is not the place to investigate whether this equivalence of the Hebrew and Greek terms may help us to disentangle the textual problem of the Gospel passages. For our present purpose it is sufficient to have shown the complete identity of the basic concept and purpose of the Christian *koinonia* and the *yahad* of the "Discipline Scroll" sect. They are the practical application and fulfilment of the biblical commandment—"to love the Lord."

This conclusion throws light on the expression **ביחד אל** contained in the charter passage of the "Discipline Scroll" quoted above. I have translated it alternatively as "God's Unity," as if it were pronounced *yihhud 'el*. But whether it was actually pronounced so, or *yahad*, seems to me to be immaterial. My contention is that, in this particular charter passage, which, as has just been shown, derives from, and is inspired by, the **שמע**, the expression **יחד אל** has an undertone of meaning corresponding exactly to that of the rabbinical **יחד השם**, "God's Unity," which both asserts the idea of monotheism and expresses the ideal of a life wholly dedicated to God.

It is highly significant that in the Gospel, too, the spiritual and moral ideal of life is explicitly associated with the notion of "God's Unity" in reference to the **שמע**. In Mark xii, 28-34, a conversation between Jesus and a scribe is reported. To the latter's question, "Which is the first commandment of all?" Jesus replies that the commandments to "love God with all thy heart and with all thy soul" and to "love thy neighbour as thyself" are the greatest of all. Thereupon the scribe said:

Well, Master, thou hast said the truth: for there is one God; and there is none other but he. And to love him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the soul, and with all the strength, and to love his neighbour as himself, is more than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices.

In this Gospel text the moral ideal of life is associated with

"God's Unity" exactly as in the charter passage of the "Discipline Scroll"; and the conclusion of the text, that the love of God and one's neighbour "is more than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices," corresponds, no less exactly, to the expectation in the "Scroll" that charity will supersede offerings and sacrifices.¹

Beside the meaning, "God's Unity," the expression **ביחד אל** has the meaning "Divine Union," that is to say, "being one in God." There is no better illustration of this meaning than the following passages of Jesus' prayer in John xvii, 17-21:

Sanctify them [the disciples] through thy truth: thy word is truth.

As thou has sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world.

And for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth.

Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word.

That they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.

If we separate from these passages the references to incarnation and the mission, which represent a projection into the past of the Evangelist's own conceptions, the two leading ideas that remain are "the sanctification through God's truth" and "being one in God." These ideas correspond to **לאמתו** (God's Truth) and **יחד אל** (Divine Union) in the charter passage of the "Discipline Scroll."

* * * *

The problem that we have to consider now is: what is the nature of the Christian *koinonia* or *yahad*? Before approaching this problem it is necessary to refer to the hypothesis that the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls is connected with the Essenes—the hypothesis which is upheld in one form or another by an overwhelming majority of the scholars who are engaged in the study of the Scrolls. In all the arguments adduced in support of this hypothesis, there is, except in one instance, which I shall discuss, not the slightest shred of real evidence. The evidence is, in fact, against the hypothesis as I have already shown elsewhere in regard to the Christian "agape,"² private property, and the organisation of charity³ within the sect, and as I shall show in regard to all the other "proofs" of the Essene origin of the sect of the Scrolls in my forthcoming essay on "Christian Institutions in the Discipline Scroll." It may, however, be useful to mention here a "typical" argument that has been adduced to build up the Essene hypothesis.

¹ See Plate IX, 3-6, and my translation of the passage in *JJS*, III, pp. 117-118.

² See *JJS*, III, No. 3, p. 131, on the "private agape."

³ *Ibidem*, III, pp. 87-88.

Professor Dupont-Sommer asserts that among the sect of the Scrolls "la communauté des biens . . . comporte le versement du salaire quotidien entre les mains du questeur de la Communauté."¹ The passage of the "Discipline Scroll," vi, 19-20,² which he quotes in support of this assertion contains, in fact, not the slightest hint as to "the daily wages to be paid into the hands of the treasurer of the community." This passage deals with the admission of new members to the community and stipulates that after a period of probation the candidate's "possession and property"³ shall be presented to the Lord⁴ Overseer of the Chest of the Community,⁵ who will write it down in the accounts register kept by him, and it shall not be dispensed to meet the needs of the Community⁵ . . . until a further year of probation has elapsed."

The single argument that the upholders of the Essene hypothesis are able to produce in their support is derived from the charter passage of the "Discipline Scroll" which has been quoted and translated above as "And all those who dedicate themselves to God's truth shall consecrate all their mind, their strength, and their possessions unto the Divine Union." The upholders of the Essene hypothesis, among them Professor Dupont-Sommer, have preferred to render this sentence as follows: "And all those who volunteer for His truth shall bring all their understanding, all their strength, and all their possessions into the Community of God."⁶ But, even in the light of this translation, does this passage really signify, as Professor Dupont-Sommer says, "l'abandon du patrimoine," and indicate that within the sect "la communauté des biens est totale"?⁷ Is this not reading into the text a preconceived idea? Surely, the context alone, in which "possessions" appears side by side with "mind" and "strength," shows clearly that something different from simple "communauté des biens" is intended here. The whole structure of the Essene hypothesis rests on a forced interpretation of the charter passage of the "Discipline Scroll"; and it is certainly too tenuous a foundation, particularly with all the evidence to the contrary, for determining that the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls represents one kind of Essenes or another.

In fact, as has been shown above, the purport and the terminology of this charter passage are identical with those of the passages in the Acts describing the formation of the Christian community in Jerusalem. This being so, if it is absurd to suggest

¹ *Observations sur le Manuel de Discipline découvert près de la Mer Morte*, Paris, 1951, p. 7.

² יקרבו גם את הונו ואת מלאכתו אל יד האיש המבקש על מלאכת הרבים וכתבו בהשבון בידו ועל הרבים לא יוציאנו . . . עד מלאכת לו שנה שנית

³ For מלאכתו and מלאכת cpr. Ex. xxii, 7, 10.

⁴ honorary address, like אִשִּׁי בֶּהֱן גִּדּוּל in *Yoma*, I, 5. The "Overseer" is most likely the "bishop."

⁵ רבים is the totality of the members of the community, the "public."

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 7

⁷ *Ibid.*

that the passages in the Acts are due to Essenes and that the community formed in Jerusalem was an Essene community, it is equally absurd to suggest that the identical charter passage in the "Discipline Scroll" is due to Essenes. The question of the relationship of the Essenes with the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls still remains open, but it is, in fact, the same question as the relationship of the Essenes with the Christians. There are, undoubtedly, some analogies between the Christians and the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls on one side, and the Essenes, as far as they are known to us from the descriptions of them in Philo and Josephus, on the other. These analogies do not seem ever to have been satisfactorily explained, and I hope to be able to make some suggestions about them at a later stage of my study of the Dead Sea Scrolls—but there is no question whatever that the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls is Christian, not Essene.

To return now to the main problem: what was the nature of the Christian *koinonia* or *yahad*? The sources of information are all, unfortunately, too scanty to provide an adequate description of the *koinonia*, but it is possible nevertheless, by means of judicious deduction from what is known, to form a sufficiently clear idea of its nature.

The first important point that does not seem to have been generally noticed is the essential difference between Essene "communism" and the Christian *koinonia*. The Essene community, as far as the accounts of it in Philo and Josephus can be believed, formed an independent economic unit; it derived its subsistence from the possessions of its members which constituted, "as it were, one patrimony among all the brethren,"¹ and from the fruits of labour of every one of its members, who were "sent away by their curators to exercise some of those arts wherein they were skilled,"² and who handed over their earnings to these curators.³ The *koinonia* of the Christian community in Jerusalem was something entirely different. Let us read the account of it in Acts iv, 34-35:

Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.⁴

The implications of this passage are clear and unmistakable. The action of the disciples in Jerusalem resulted in the creation

¹ JOSEPHUS, *Bel. Jud.*, II, 8, 122.

² *Ibid.*, II, 8, 129.

³ PHILO in EUSEBIUS, *Pr. Evang.*, viii, 11.

⁴ See also Acts ii, 44-45: "And all that believed were together, and had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need."

of a capital fund—a kind of charitable trust, not in the establishing of an independent economic unit. Nothing, indeed, would have defeated more completely the disciples' intention of being economically independent, if they had had such an intention, than the selling of lands, which must have resulted in the loss of a steady income. The community of the disciples in Jerusalem was not, in fact, economically independent. It derived its subsistence from the "collections" made on its behalf in the Gentile churches. The institution of the "collections" for the Jerusalem Church was, as far as can be seen from the sources, an important and vital factor, which must be taken account of in explaining the relations between Paul and the Jerusalem Church, as I shall attempt to do in a later essay. This institution appears to have been in existence from the first beginnings of the organised Christian Church. According to Acts xi, 27-30, the church in Antioch, the first Gentile church, sent such collections to Jerusalem. It is true, the account in the Acts speaks of "relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judea" in view of an impending famine, which would seem to indicate that this was a temporary measure and not a permanent institution. But, as I shall show in my forthcoming "Paul and the Jerusalem Church," the author of the Acts describes the history of the Church in Jerusalem with a particular purpose in view which allowed no consideration of the institution of the "collections." He therefore omits all reference to it in his account, and converts the permanent obligation of the Antioch Church to send collections to Jerusalem into a charitable donation for one particular contingency.¹ However, it is evident from Paul's statement in Gal. ii, 10, that the "collections" were a permanent obligation of the Gentile churches. Paul says that the leaders of the Jerusalem Church asked "that we should remember the poor; the same which I also was forward to do." Is it not clear that Paul was asked to continue a permanent institution, to which he readily agreed?²

The essential difference between the economic organisation of

¹ It is in conformity with his purpose that the author of the Acts puts into Paul's mouth the following statement before Felix: "Now after many years I came to bring alms to my nation, and offerings" (xxiv, 17).

² It has been stated that "there is absolutely no evidence of the existence of such a practice [regular collections for Jerusalem] in the letters [of Paul] or, for that matter, in Acts" (JOHN KNOX, *Chapters in a Life of Paul*, N.Y., 1950, p. 55). In fact, 1 Cor. xvi, 1-4, supply the evidence. The text reads: "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come. And when I come, whomsoever ye shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto Jerusalem. And if it be meet that I go also, they shall go with me." Two things follow from this passage. First, Paul has not instituted the "collection" as something new, but has merely reorganised it in a more efficient manner. The words, "that there be no gatherings when I come," imply clearly that such "gatherings" had been made previously on the occasion of Paul's visits. This Paul intends now to change, probably in order to avoid waste of time and also in order to keep alive the sense of Christian duty in the Church by permanent weekly contributions, not

the Jerusalem church and that of the other churches must be kept well in mind when the problem of "communism" in the primitive church is considered. The organisation of the other churches which supported the Jerusalem church could not, obviously, have been that of a "charitable institution," such as, for all practical purposes, the Jerusalem church was. Jewish history offers a very telling analogy. Until modern times Jewish communities in Palestine, and particularly in Jerusalem, were supported by donations from Jewish communities abroad—donations which were considered the fulfilment of a religious obligation. The "collections" from the Jewish communities abroad were, in fact, a permanent institution. Special "apostles," שליחים, were sent from Palestine, whose task was to visit the communities abroad in order to collect the donations and impart spiritual guidance to the brethren in the Diaspora.¹

The saying of Jesus that the love of God and of one's neighbour was the foremost commandment resulted in the adoption by the primitive Church of the passage in Deut. vi, 5 (שמע) as its guiding idea in life. The practical application of this idea was twofold. In the Jerusalem Church it assumed the form of a "charitable institution" supported by outside churches for the sake of the spiritual benefits and guidance that were bestowed on them by the group of "saints" in the Holy City.² In the churches outside Jerusalem it assumed in later times the form of organised charity, as it is described in the "Damascus Fragments":

This is the ordinance for the community to provide for all their needs. [Everyone] shall bring his offering once a month as the [ransom] price of his sin and give it to the "Overseer." The "judges" [deacons] shall disburse from it for the needs of the community, and support from it the poor and needy, the aged [servants] in the house, those who are struck by illness, captives among an

merely through the enthusiasm created by his intermittent visits. Further, the words "whomsoever ye shall approve by your letter, them will I send . . ." indicate that the dispatch of the collection to Jerusalem was through accredited messengers. Here, Paul introduces another change—and this is the second thing that follows from the passage—requiring that the dispatch of the collection should not be made without his authorisation. In other words, Paul takes over the control of the collection. Confirmation of this interpretation is to be found in Rom. xv, 25-26: "But now I go unto Jerusalem to minister unto the saints. For it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution to the poor saints who are at Jerusalem." Paul does not mention here the collections of the churches of Galatia. Scholars who deny the existence of a permanent institution of collections for the Jerusalem Church maintain, on the basis of Rom. xv, 25-26, that there was only one special collection made by Paul. But clearly the collections in Galatia were distinct from those in Macedonia and Achaia referred to in Rom., and show that there were other collections beside the alleged single special collection. How, indeed, could the "saints" in Jerusalem maintain themselves without such regular contributions? (Cpr. 2 Cor. ix, 12: "For the administration of this service not only supplies the want of the saints . . ."). On the significance of these collections, see what I have written in *JJS*, II, No. 3, p. 128.

¹ A monumental study of this Jewish "apostolate," with an immense wealth of information, has recently been published by A. YA'ARI, *Sheluḥe 'Ereṣ Yisra'el*, Jerusalem, 1951.

² See Rom. xv, 27, and 2 Cor. ix, 10.

alien race, girls who have nobody to protect them, and boys who have nobody to care for them.¹

To sum up: the charter passage of the "Discipline Scroll," the main prop of the Essene hypothesis, has been shown to contain the essential teaching of the primitive church which inspired the institution of the Christian *koinonia* in its two disparate forms, as it was practised in the Jerusalem church and in the other churches outside Jerusalem.

2. THE "SPIRIT OF TRUTH" AND THE "HOLY SPIRIT"

It has been stated in the preceding section that the Christian *koinonia* was inspired by the "Holy Spirit" and the *yahad* among the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls by the "Spirit of Truth"; and it has been established, at the same time, that there is complete identity between the *koinonia* and the *yahad*. Might it not be argued, however, that the diversity of nomenclature—"Holy Spirit" in one case and "Spirit of Truth" in the other—in itself militates against the identification of the Christian *koinonia* with the *yahad*? Our task is now, therefore, to show that, despite this difference of names, the teaching of the primitive, pre-Pauline Church concerning the "Holy Spirit" coincides entirely with that of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In the earlier parts of this study the functions of the "Spirit of Truth" and of the "Holy Spirit" in the doctrine of the Dead Sea Scrolls have been described in detail. On the plane of history, the "Spirit of Truth" is man's "Helper" in the struggle against the "Spirit of Iniquity," and the "Holy Spirit" will cleanse man from sin in the eschatological future.² Clear evidence that the teaching of the pre-Pauline Church made the same distinction between the two functions of the "Spirit" can be detected in the New Testament beneath the layers of thought which derived from Paul.

Foremost in this respect is the passage in John xiv, 16-18. Here Jesus gives the following promise to the disciples:

And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Helper (*parakleton*), that he may abide with you for ever: the Spirit of Truth; whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him; for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you. I will not leave you helpless (like orphans); I will come to you.

¹ See my note, *Restoration of the "Damascus Fragments,"* xiv, 12-16, in *JJS*, III, No. 2, 87-88. I have shown in this note that all the details of this organisation of charity are identical with that of the Christian Church during the first centuries. According to Professor ROWLEY, the evidence adduced by me shows only "that both the Sect [of the Dead Sea Scrolls] and the early Christians organised their charity." (*The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Oxford, 1952, p. xi, additional note to p. 54, n. 6.) It will be difficult to find a clearer instance of "missing the point."

² See *JJS*, III, No. 3, p. 112 and p. 115; III, No. 4, pp. 140f.

This passage is among the most obscure in the New Testament—particularly the reference in it to the “Helper” (*paraklētos*), the “Spirit of Truth”—and no satisfactory interpretation of it has yet been given. It is, I suggest, the “Discipline Scroll” alone—the only text outside the New Testament and the literature that originated from it containing a similar reference to the “Spirit of Truth,” the “Helper” (*paraklētos*)¹—that explains adequately this obscure passage, supplying as it does the information that the “Spirit of Truth” is man’s, or rather the Christian’s, “Helper” in the struggle against the “Spirit of Iniquity,” and that the promptings of this “Spirit” inspire the conduct of Christians in practical life and lead to the creation of the *koinonia* or *yahad*.² The parallelism of terminology in the Scroll and in John is not chance coincidence but a sign of identity of origin and inspiration.

A confirmation of the explanation put forward here of the passage in John is to be found in the striking circumstance—so often noticed but never explained—that the doctrine of the “Holy Spirit,” as it is encountered in the Acts, appears in some respects undeveloped. It lacks any reference to the charismatic gifts of sanctifying man and cleansing him from sin.³ The explanation of this circumstance is, I suggest, simple: the “Holy Spirit” in the Acts has the function, though not the name, of the “Spirit of Truth,” the *paraklētos*; or, in other words, the doctrine of the “Holy Spirit” as professed by the Church of Jerusalem, according to the Acts, is identical with that of the “Spirit of Truth” in the “Discipline Scroll.” The function of the “Holy Spirit” in the Acts and of the “Spirit of Truth” in the “Discipline Scroll” is, as has been shown in the first section, the same in respect of the creation of the *koinonia*; and, as will be shown in the subsequent sections, the doctrine of the “Discipline Scroll” concerning the two Spirits of Truth and Iniquity was also part of the teaching of the pre-Pauline Church. There is only one difference between the teaching of the “Discipline Scroll” and that of the pre-Pauline Church concerning the Spirit. According to the Acts, prophecy and speaking in tongues were also gifts of the “Holy Spirit,” but there is no reference in the “Discipline Scroll” to these gifts. There is, however, in one of the Scroll hymns, a clear attack upon “speaking in tongues” as well as prophecy,⁴ which appears to indicate either that the omission of any mention of them in the doctrinal parts of the “Discipline Scroll” was deliberate, or, as seems to me to

¹ Plate III, 24. See the translation of the whole passage in *JJS*, III, No. 3, p. 112.

² See *JJS*, III, No. 4, p. 142.

³ Authors who refer to the “sanctification” through the “Holy Spirit” in the Acts use this term in a loose sense.

⁴ SUKENIK, *Megilloth Genuzoth* II, p. 45, 517: יבאו לדורשכה מפי נביאי כזב משיח (In order to seek Thee they go for guidance to false prophets, propagators of error, who speak to your people with stammering lips and a different tongue.)

be more likely, that the teaching of the pre-Pauline Church concerning the "Spirit" did not include "prophecy and speaking in tongues." This problem, however, will be more aptly discussed in the wider context of Paul's relations with the Jerusalem Church.

In so far as the doctrine of the "Spirit" in the Acts and the passages in John xiv, 16-18, coincides with the doctrine of the "Spirit of Truth" in the "Discipline Scroll," we may expect also to find in the pre-Pauline Church the same teaching concerning the "Holy Spirit" cleansing man from sin in the eschatological future as we find in the "Discipline Scroll."¹ Is there any evidence for this teaching in the pre-Pauline Church? I suggest that such evidence is contained in the additional verse of the Lord's Prayer preserved in two minuscule Greek manuscripts of Luke xi, 2. Here, after the words "(Our) Father (which art in heaven), hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come," the following words are added: *elthetō to hagian pneuma sou ef hēmas kai katharisatō hēmas* (Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us [from sin]).² This amplified text of the Lord's Prayer is quoted by Gregor of Nyssa³ and Maximus Confessor⁴ (the latter may have derived it from the former); Marcion almost certainly knew it, and perhaps Tertullian, too.⁵ There can thus be no question of the authenticity of the additional verse. It is eschatological in purport and its place after the eschatological verse, "Thy Kingdom come," is appropriate. Its contents cannot, however, be reconciled with the Pauline teaching, and we must regard them therefore as the expression of the teaching of the pre-Pauline Church. No other explanation of the presence of this verse in the Lord's Prayer seems possible.⁶

The evidence of the additional verse in Luke is corroborated by the text of the prayer in "Didache" x, 5: *mnēsthēti kurie tēs ekklēsias sou tou rusasthai autēn apo pantos ponerou* ("Remember, O Lord, Thy church, to redeem her from all sin"). This prayer, invoking the redemption of the church from sin, reflects the same expectation of the future cleansing from sin by the "Holy Spirit" that we have found in the "Discipline Scroll." The evidence of the "Didache" is particularly relevant, since this work is generally considered to contain, in some parts, teachings of the primitive church. Thus, the doctrine of the "Discipline Scroll" concerning

¹ See the translation of the whole passage in *JJS*, III, p. 115, and the quotation from it in this paper, p. 12.

² One MS. omits *ef hēmas*.

³ *De Oratione dominic.* III (PG xliv, 1157).

⁴ *Com. in Mat.*, VI, 10 (PG, xc, 884f).

⁵ TERTULLIAN, *Adversus Marcionem*, IV, 26. All these and other texts are fully discussed by A. HARNACK, *Ueber einige Worte Jesus, etc.* in *Sitzungsb. Preus. Ak. d. Wis.*, I (1904), pp. 170f; and by J. HENSLE, *Das Vaterunser in Neuest. Abh.* (ed. M. MEINERTZ), IV (1914), pp. 30-47.

⁶ Many attempts have been made by scholars to explain the additional verse in the "Lord's Prayer" in Luke, but to no avail. The most sensible conclusion has been, hitherto, DÖLGER'S (*Antik. u. Christ.* II [1930], pp. 150-152), that the addition cannot be properly explained. HARNACK (*Marcion*, 1st ed., Leipzig, 1921, p. 56) considers Luke's text "ursprünglich."

the functions of the Spirit in its two aspects, the temporal and the eschatological, which are distinguished by the two terms "Spirit of Truth" and "Holy Spirit," is found to coincide with that of the pre-Pauline Church.¹

It must now be asked why the term "Spirit of Truth," the "Helper," denoting the temporal aspect of the activity of the Spirit, has been preserved in John but replaced by the term "Holy Spirit" in Acts? In order to answer this question let us quote the text of the "Discipline Scroll," iv, 20-21:

Then will God, through His [Spirit of] Truth, purify all man's acts and refine man's body in order to . . . cleanse him through the Holy Spirit from the works of evil. He will sprinkle upon him the Spirit of Truth like the water of purification and cleanse him from the abomination of lies. . . .

In this passage, referring to the eschatological future, when man will be cleansed from sin, the terms "Spirit of Truth" and "Holy Spirit" are almost synonymous, implying that the function of the "Spirit of Truth" is but an aspect of the activity of the "Holy Spirit." But in Paul's doctrine the cleansing through the Spirit is accomplished in the present: "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the Spirit of our God" (1 Cor. vi, 11); and, indeed, the "body is the temple of the Holy Ghost" (vi, 19) and the church, likewise, is the "habitation of God through the Spirit" (Eph. ii, 22). Now, the tendency of the author of the Acts, as will be shown in my subsequent essay, is to portray the relations between Paul and the Jerusalem Church as a perfect harmony of thought and action. Is not his use of the term "Holy Spirit" an illustration of this tendency? He adopts the term "Holy Spirit," which has a specific meaning in Paul, to express the idea of the "Spirit of Truth," the *paraklētos* in the pre-Pauline Church. The balance of the Pauline and non-Pauline elements in the doctrine of the Spirit, as it was apparently professed by the author of the Acts, is decidedly in favour of the latter.

The literary, ideological, and theological problems of the Gospel according to John are the most difficult and complex that the student of the New Testament has to face, but, fortunately, they lie outside the scope of this essay. The style of the Gospel is, however, of particular relevance for our purpose. It is a mosaic of terms and concepts deriving from different layers of thought. Sometimes the terms are set side by side in asyndeton²; at other times different terms are employed in relation to the same subject

¹ Acts iii, 19, expresses clearly the idea that the cleansing from sin will take place in the future: "Repent ye therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, when the time of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord."

² M. GOGUEL, *La Naissance du Christianisme*, II, p. 378 and n. 2: "Les particules de liaison sont, dans l'Evangile [Jean] comme dans les épîtres, d'un emploi particulièrement rare."

without organic interpenetration. Thus, for example, in chapter I of the Gospel, Jesus is "the Word that was made flesh" (verse 13), "the only begotten son who is in the bosom of the Father" (v. 18), "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world" (v. 29), and, finally, also the Prophet "of whom Moses in the Law, and the Prophets, did write" (v. 45). The last of these descriptions, as will be shown in the next section, reveals the way in which the pre-Pauline Church and the Dead Sea Scrolls conceived the character of Jesus' ministry, during his lifetime on earth.

In view of the use of ancient terminology by the author of John,¹ and of his peculiar style, it is not surprising that he should use in xiv, 16-17, the "Spirit of Truth," the "Helper" (*paraklētos*)—terms of the pre-Pauline Church, as has been shown above—or should set side by side with "Holy Spirit," the "Helper," as in xiv, 26:

But the Helper (*parakletos*), the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you.

The remarkable thing about this passage is that, notwithstanding the juxtaposition of the term "Holy Spirit" with the "Helper," the actual function assigned to the former is not that of the Pauline "Holy Spirit" but, rather, that of the "Spirit of Truth," the "Helper," in the "Discipline Scroll."

The demonstration offered in the preceding two sections that the teaching of the "Discipline Scroll" concerning the "Spirit of Truth," the "Helper," is identical with that of the pre-Pauline Church, has some important consequences for the critical study of the New Testament. In the first place, it explodes the theory advanced by some scholars that the Church of Jerusalem was not "pneumatic"; secondly, it shows that the doctrine of the Spirit professed by the author of the Acts coincides, notwithstanding his terminology, with the pre-Pauline, not the Pauline, doctrine; and, thirdly, it discloses that the doctrine of the Spirit and the Logos in John is a composite structure combining pre-Pauline and Pauline elements. Finally, comparison of the doctrine of the Spirit in the "Discipline Scroll" with that in the Acts and John indicates that in the latter writings the notion of the Spirit has assumed, at least in the phraseology used in reference to it, some degree of "materialisation."

We shall proceed to discuss now the christology of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the pre-Pauline Church, which is organically connected with the doctrine of the Spirit.

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(To be continued)

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 379: "... outre les traditions palestiniennes qui sont mises en œuvre dans les parties narratives de l'Evangile [Jean], on y discerne, sur le plan théologique, une influence qui vient du christianisme apostolique."

THE HABAKKUK SCROLL AND THE TARGUM

If it is true that the religious and intellectual life of each generation is mirrored in the manner of interpreting the Holy Scriptures, then a proper understanding of the biblical exegesis of the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls is of importance for a correct appreciation of the character of the sect, whatever its identity may be.

The significance of the "Habakkuk Scroll" for the dating of the Dead Sea documents has been justly stressed by many scholars. This Scroll possesses, however, a singular value also as the main source for our knowledge of the biblical exegesis of the sect.

A question of paramount importance in this connection is: Are the interpretations contained in the "Habakkuk Scroll" original, or has the exegete drawn upon the large body of traditional Jewish interpretations?

I shall proceed now to show that the author of the "Habakkuk Scroll" has, in fact, borrowed his interpretation of Hab. i, 16 directly from the Targum on the Prophet. This borrowing is all the more important, since it concerns the passage of the Scroll (vi, 3-5) which is the pivot in the controversy about the identity of the "Kiti'im," and bears upon the dating of the Scroll, namely, the passage stating that the "Kiti'im" sacrificed to their standards and that their weapons were the object of their religious cult.

Before dealing with the Targum, it is necessary to draw attention to an aggadic utterance by R. Akiba, which clearly reflects the same interpretation of the Habakkuk verse as we find in the Scroll. The *Aggadah* runs as follows:

R. Akiba says: *Ye shall not do with Me* (Ex. xx, 20). *Ye shall not behave towards Me in the manner in which others behave towards their deities. When good comes to them they honour their gods, as it is said: Therefore they sacrifice unto their net, etc. (Hab. i, 16.) But when evil comes to them they curse their gods, as it is said: And it shall come to pass that when they shall be hungry, they shall fret themselves, and curse their king and their god (Is. viii, 21). But ye, if I bring good upon you, give ye thanks, and when I bring suffering upon you, give ye thanks.*¹

It is obvious that R. Akiba, like the author of the "Habakkuk Scroll," equates "net" and "seine" in Hab. i, 16 with the deities worshipped by the heathens. He employs in reference to these terms

¹ *Mekhilta D'Rabbi Ismael*, ed. HOROVITZ-RABIN, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1931, p. 239, lines 9ff.; ed. JACOB Z. LAUTERBAUGH, Philadelphia, 1934, II, 277. See also *Tanhuma, Yithro*, 16.

the expression *yir'ah*, which is etymologically and semantically parallel to the term *mora'* used in the Scroll. It is, further, certain that only the rendering of חרם and מכמרת as "weapon" and "standard" could have led R. Akiba to refer these expressions to idols. That R. Akiba is not more explicit on this point is probably due to the fact that he is concerned exclusively with contrasting the relationship of the gentiles to their deities with that of Israel to God. In this context the nature of the individual deities was of no account and need not be specified.

The circumstance that R. Akiba deemed it unnecessary for the proper understanding of his proof-text from Habakkuk to explain that "net" and "seine" refer to deities, shows that he must have presupposed that this reference was well known. In fact, this reference is contained in the popular translation of the Bible into the vernacular, the Targum.

Before quoting the Targum it is worth while to remark incidentally that R. Akiba's statement to the effect that the gentiles sacrificed to their standards "when good comes to them," is strikingly illuminated by Josephus. The latter records that the Roman legionaries after the conquest of the Temple, "carried their standards (*tas semaias*) into the Temple-court and, setting them opposite the eastern gate, there sacrificed to them," as a thanksgiving for the victory.¹

The Targum on Hab. i, 16 runs: על כן מדבה לויניה ומסיק בוסמין : לסימאותיה² "therefore he sacrifices to his weapons and offers incense to his standards." In the "Habakkuk Scroll" we have an *exact* parallel to the Targum.

One point which emerges immediately from this Targumic parallel is that there can no longer be any doubt as to the meaning of אמות in the "Habakkuk Scroll." In his recent book on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Professor H. H. Rowley states: "To translate *signs* into *signa* is simple, but not necessarily legitimate."³ The Targum banishes the last shadow of doubt about this. It speaks of סימאות⁴ *semaia*,

¹ Bell. Iud., vi, 6, 1 (vi, 316). H. ST. JOHN THACKERAY remarks on this passage (iii, p. 469, note): "For the practice here mentioned Josephus seems to be the sole authority." See also G. VERMES, *La Communauté de la Nouvelle Alliance*, 1951, p. 12.

² Codex Reuchlinianus; see P. DE LAGARDE, *Prophet. Chaldaic*. Lipsiae, 1872, p. 467.

³ *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Oxford, 1952, p. 72.

⁴ The same term is used by the Targum to render משאת in Jer. vi, 1 and נס in Is. xiii, 2. In the latter place only according to Elia Levita (*Meturgeman*, *Lexicon Chaldaic*, fol. 100b). The editions (including LAGARDE, *op. cit.*, p. 273 and J. F. STENNING, *The Targum of Isaiah*, Oxford, 1949, p. 45) have אמת which corresponds to the Hebrew אמת in the "Habakkuk Scroll." The term is further to be found in *Megillath Ta'anith* (ix), where it figures among the three Greek words occurring there: בתלחא בכסלו אתגמילו סימאותא מן דרתא "On the third of Kislev the standards were removed from the Temple-court" (see S. ZEITLIN, *Megillat Taanit*, Philadelphia, 1922, pp. 67, 87-88; HANS LICHTENSTEIN, *Die Fastenrolle*, in *HUCA*, viii-ix (1931-32), pp. 339, 299-300). Cf. further Bell. Iud., ii, 9, 2 (ii, 169).

which is the Greek equivalent to *signa*. The same term is used in the Septuagint to translate **אותות** in Num. ii, 2.

A close comparison of the "Habakkuk Scroll" with the Targum discloses an even more significant fact: *The "Habakkuk Scroll" depends on the Targum.*

A juxtaposition of the texts will help to make this clear.

Targum	Hab. i, 16
על כן מדבח לויניה	על כן יזבח לחרמו
ומסיק בוסמין לסימאותיה	ויקשר למכמרתו

Hab. Scroll vi, 3-5

פשרו אשר המה זבחים לאותותם
וכלי מלחמותם המה מוראם

The difference between the Scroll and the Targum lies on the surface. In the former *herem* is equated with "standards" and *mikhmoreth* with "weapons of war," but in the Targum the converse is true.

The question as to which is the original version, that of the Targum or that of the "Habakkuk Scroll," must be decided in favour of the Targum on the ground that there is an exact correspondence between the biblical text and the Targum, not between the biblical text and the Scroll. In other words, the equation of the corresponding terms is justified and legitimate in the case of the Targum, but not of the "Habakkuk Scroll."

Let us consider the first equation: *herem* = "weapon." At first glance one might suggest that the equation was achieved through the metathesis of the letters of the word **חרם** to form the word **רמח** = "spear." In fact, a more universal linguistic phenomenon underlies this equation, namely, the use of the abstract for the concrete term. The Targum took the word "*herem*" to mean "killing," "slaughter," not "net." This meaning of *herem* is quite legitimate in another context.¹ The abstract noun was then used by the Targum for the concrete: "instrument of killing," "weapon." It is instructive to observe that the reverse process is also found in the Targum. It translates the word *herebh*, "sword" (instrument of killing), with the abstract **קטלא** "killing," "slaughter."²

The equation: "*herem*" = "weapon," would thus be sufficiently explained. But we must go a step further. It is almost certain that the Targum actually identified *herem* with *herebh*, "sword." This identification commends itself for more than one reason. First, there is the phonetic similarity between the two roots, which

¹ Cf. Targum on Is. xliii, 28; Zech. xiv, 11; 1 Kings xx, 42.

² See, for example, Micah vi, 14; Jer. xxv, 31; Job v, 15.

have, besides, almost the same meaning in the Hiph'il form **החריב** and **החרים** "destroy," "annihilate." Secondly, the phrase **החרים לפי חרב**, "to destroy with the edge of the sword,"¹ expressly states that the instrument with which the action signified by the verb is carried out is, in fact, the sword. Thirdly, the identification is strongly reinforced by parallel phrases such as **נתן לחרם** and **נתן לחרב**, which, according to the Targum, are synonymous. The Targum translates both in the same manner: **מסר לקטלא**. The Targumic renderings of *herebh* and *herem* lead, in fact, to the following syllogism:

$$\begin{array}{rcl} \text{קטלא} & = & \text{חרם} \\ \text{קטלא} & = & \text{חרב} \\ \hline & & \text{חרם} = \text{חרב} \end{array}$$

Finally, a significant light is thrown on our question by Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, who renders the verb **יחרם** in Ex. xxii, 19 by **ותקטל בסייף**, "shall be put to death by the sword."² This verb was, evidently, derived from the noun "*herem*" in the meaning of "sword"; hence "to kill by the sword."³

We turn now to consider the second equation: "*mikhmoreth*" = "standards" (*semaia*). This equation is puzzling. We fail to see how "seine" and "standards" could have been equated with each other. There is no phonetic similarity between the two words, nor is it easy to detect a semantic relationship between them, nor can the meaning attached to *mikhmoreth* be based on the etymology of this word. How then did they become associated in the mind of the Targumic translator?

We suggest the following solution:

The phrase "he shall empty his net" in Hab. i, 17 (the verse immediately following the one under consideration), is rendered in the Targum as **ישלח משירייתיה** "he will send out his troops." The Targum thus associates "net" with "troops." "Net" is quite a legitimate metaphor for "besieging, encircling troops"—a metaphor which has its roots in biblical imagery.⁴

Now, in the mind of the Targumic expositor the enemy troops were naturally and automatically associated with their respective designations: *signum* (*semaia*), *vexillum*. All three terms bear, in addition to their original meaning of "standard," the secondary

¹ Cf. Deut. xiii, 16; Jos. vi, 21; xi, 11, 12; I Sam. xv, 8.

² Cf. Isa. xliii, 28; Jer. xxv, 31; Mic. vi, 14.

³ See also *Mekhilta* (ed. HOROVITZ-RABIN), p. 40, lines 9-10 and RASHI on Ex. xxxii, 27.

⁴ In view of the equation *herem* = *herebh* it is quite possible that the reading of DSH (col. vi, line 8): **חרבו** instead of MT **חרמו** does not represent a textual variant, but it is to be accounted for as an anticipation of the interpretation given in the commentary. The interpretation was introduced into the biblical text itself.

⁵ Cf. Ez. xii, 13; xvii, 20; xxxii, 3 and, particularly, xix, 8.

connotation of "company," "troops."¹ Consequently, the biblical equation "net" = "troops" was for the Targum equivalent with the equation: "net" = *signum, vexillum*. The double connotation of these terms led to the double equation: (1) "net" = "troops," Hab. i, 17 and (2) "net" = "standards," (i, 16).²

To sum up: The most ingenious piece of exegesis in the "Habakkuk Scroll," namely, the interpretation of Hab. i, 16, as referring to troops who sacrificed to their weapons and regarded their standards as deities, is a borrowing from the ancient store of Jewish interpretations of the Bible. The interpretation mentioned was embodied in the Targum and was known to R. Akiba, who made use of it in an aggadic exposition of Ex. xx, 20. But there is a significant difference between the Scroll and the Targum. The latter equates *hermo* with "his weapons" and *mikhmarto* with "his standards." These equations are based, as has been shown above, on philological grounds. In the Scroll, however, we have a direct inversion of the Targum's equations—*hermo* is equated with "standards" and *mikhmarto* with "weapons." The Scroll's equations have no *raison d'être*. We must therefore draw the conclusion that the author of the "Habakkuk Scroll" was acquainted with the Targum and that he used it in a loose manner, reproducing its interpretation, not its exact equations. Indeed, the text of the Scroll should be rearranged as follows:

פֶּשֶׁר וְאִתּוֹתָם הֵמָּה זִבְחִים לְכָל מַלְחָמוֹתָם
וְאִתּוֹתָם הֵמָּה מִוְרָאִם.

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¹ "From thus having a separate standard of its own each manipule (*manipulus*) came to be called *signum, semaia* . . ." (SMITH, *A Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, ii, p. 672; PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Enzyc.*, vi, 2151). The same transition of meaning took place in connection with *manipulus* ("a company of soldiers") itself: "the name was derived from a wisp of hay carried as a standard." Cf. also the Hebrew *degel*, which likewise has two meanings: "division" and "standard." As to the question which of these two meanings is the original one, see G. BUCHANAN GRAY, *JQR* xi (1899), 92ff. and T. K. CHEYNE, *ibid.* p. 232ff.; E. BEN-JEHUDA, *Thesaurus*, ii, 888, note 3; A. KOHUT, *Aruch Completum*, iii, 16.

² Professor W. H. BROWNLEE in attempting to explain the equation between the biblical terms and the "Habakkuk Scroll" has used a method that differs entirely from that adopted by me (see his *Biblical Interpretations among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls in The Biblical Archaeologist*, 1951, p. 66). Nothing illuminates better Prof. BROWNLEE's method than his own reflection: "To many scholars this [explanation] will appear too involved to be credible, for it is difficult for us to acclimate ourselves to the free imagination of the ancient Jewish interpreters." The present writer may perhaps be allowed to remark that even to those who were brought up, as it were, in the very climate of ancient Jewish interpretations, Prof. BROWNLEE's piece of "free imagination" in explaining the "Habakkuk Scroll" will appear more than incredible. His explanation is, nevertheless, interesting for the light it throws on the survival of kabbalistic modes of thought in our times, not on the "Habakkuk Scroll."

CONTEMPLATIVE MYSTICISM AND 'FAITH' IN HASIDIC PIETY*

To the memory of Julius Guttmann.

The general structure of Hasidism is usually seen by the student of Jewish mysticism as a uniform pattern. Nothing mars the uniformity of the picture of this last religious revival in eighteenth-century Judaism in Eastern Europe; at the most, only slight differences within the same movement are distinguished, differences that may be described as "various paths in the same worship," which diverge from the central unity without breaking the unity and the uniformity of the movement itself. Almost all research presupposes the theory of the unity and uniformity of Hasidism—the theory that the whole Hasidic religious outlook is dominated by an essential unity, which cannot be called in question.

It seems to me that this general view of Hasidism is open to serious doubt.

A certain degree of uniformity can be seen in the realm of folklore and in some forms of religious life. A common frame is to be found in the ecstatic prayers or in other customs shared by all the trends of Hasidism. But it is obvious that such matters are not sufficient to argue a unity of ideas. Both from the theological point of view and as far as religious values are concerned, this standardisation of the Hasidic schools and their doctrines must be rejected. The postulated artificial unity and uniformity disappear when we look for their verification in the theoretical literature of Hasidic authors.

I shall attempt here to describe two trends of the Hasidic movement, which have assumed a clear and distinctive outline. The two trends are diametrically opposed to each other. Even in the controversies of the "Šaddiqim" (the Hasidic spiritual leaders), which seem to have a personal basis, the theoretical motifs can be often clearly discerned.

The aim of this study is to trace the two different types of piety which are to be found in Hasidism—the mystical, contemplative piety and the piety of faith. On the distinction between these two general types of piety is based some of the finest of the German

*This paper is a revised version of the lecture delivered by the author in August, 1947, at the Congress of Judaistic Studies convened by the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Religionswissenschaft, such as Heiler's book *Das Gebet*.¹ These two types of piety not only *differ* from each other, but are *opposed* to each other; they form two distinct categories of religious phenomena and as such are of great value for the understanding of Hasidism.

The present inquiry will not be concerned with the origins of the two types; it will be a study of the contrast in their main features. It is worth mentioning that the Hasidic literature itself contains remarks which illustrate the characteristics of the various schools and trends of Hasidism in terms of this contrast.

It seems correct to say that these two types of piety are not represented merely by two classical examples in the theoretical literature of Hasidism, but that the entire Hasidic literature, as far as theory is concerned, may be divided into two clear-cut types—the mystical, contemplative Hasidism and the Hasidism of faith, of *'emunah*. It is not my intention to trace the historical development of the two types within the Hasidic thought, but to describe both sectors, each type as exemplified by an extreme case. Mystical, contemplative Hasidism will be illustrated by a description of the teaching of Rabbi Dobh Ber (the "Great Maggid of Meseritz") and of his disciple, who developed the master's system, Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Ladi, the founder of the Habad movement. The second type, the Hasidic piety of faith, of *'emunah*, will be illustrated by the teaching of Rabbi Nahman of Brazlav.

It is important to remember that Rabbi Dobh Ber and Rabbi Nahman of Brazlav are extreme examples and representatives of whole schools or trends. This is what makes them "typical." The characteristic features of Hasidism of the mystical, contemplative type will, thus, be found not only in the teachings of the Great Maggid and Habad, but also in some central ideas of Baal Shem Tobh, the founder of Hasidism. This accounts for the fact that the mystical, contemplative type predominates in Hasidic thought. On the other hand, I have chosen R. Nahman of Brazlav as typical of the other type of piety, because of his keen penetration into problems of *'emunah*, faith. Other representatives of this type are Rabbi Menahem Mendel of Rimanov, R. Menahem Mendel of Kotzk, R. Alexander Susskind Ha-Kohen,² and R. Zebhi 'Elimelekh of Dinov. In confining this study to the representative examples of the Great Maggid of Mezeritz and Rabbi Nahman of

¹ Publ., 1918; 5th edition, Munich, 1923. Translated into English by SAMUEL McCOMB with the assistance of J. EDGAR PARK, Oxford and New York, 1932. Cf. also K. BETH, *Froemigkeit der Mystik und des Glaubens*, 1927; H. E. WEBER, *Glaube und Mystik*, 1927; H. E. BRUNNER, *Die Mystik und das Wort*, 1928; there are also fine remarks in the first chapter of J. GUTTMANN, *Die Philosophie des Judentums*, 1933, p. 12 seqq.

² I made a preliminary attempt to analyse some ideas of this unknown but profound thinker in a Hebrew essay in the *Literary Supplement of Ha-arets* of September 14, 1945.

Brazlav I scarcely need say that they are not pure types—such in fact do not exist; or that they do not exhaust the complex variety of historical phenomena.

* * * *

1. When we consider the concept of deity in the two systems of the Great Maggid and Rabbi Nahman, the difference between them at once becomes clear. This difference can be defined as the contrast between an impersonal pantheistic concept of Deity (the Great Maggid) and a concept of a personal and voluntaristic God (Brazlav).

The scholarly controversy of the last quarter of a century concerning the pantheistic character of the Hasidic teaching is well known. Some scholars tried to mitigate the pantheism of the early Hasidic texts by explaining it as pan-entheism. It must be asked, however, whether there actually exists a Hasidic doctrine which teaches the existence of God *in* the world. Is it not rather, according to Hasidic teaching, that not God himself but only his divine power emanates into the world? This particular aspect of the problem is beyond the scope of the present study. It can only be solved by an exact analysis of the various Hasidic systems, since the character of the pantheistic doctrine in each of them differs very largely from one another. The pantheistic attitude of Hasidic thought cannot, however, be denied, and is actually generally accepted; the Habad system, for instance, is very close to a-cosmism,¹ the denial of the reality of the Cosmos.

The conception of God's immanence in the world is to be found, however, only in the mystical-contemplative type of Hasidism. God is conceived here not only as present *in* the world, but as impersonal too. These two facets of the concept, though not necessarily connected in the various forms of contemplative mysticism, are generally linked together. They form the characteristic feature of the mystical-contemplative Hasidism, as of many mystical philosophies. The theology of the mystic Rabbi Dobh of Mezeritz, the Great Maggid, is not based on the three moments of Creation, Revelation on Mount Sinai, and Redemption by the Messiah. His experience of God is based on the perception of the divine essence which is present in, and pervades, all things. R. Dobh's God is not the Creator *ex-nihilo* whose historical Revelation is unique and whose Redemption will come in the messianic period—such conception of God is not prominent in the Great Maggid's mystical piety. It seems to me unnecessary to point out that this position implies no dogmatic denial of those

¹ See G. SCHOLEM, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 2nd edition, 1946, p. 341. As to the exact meaning of Baal Shem's allegedly pantheistic allegory of the king's palace, see my Hebrew article on *Beginnings of Hasidism in Zion*, 1951, vol. xvi, pp. 97 seqq.

principles of Jewish faith. While not denying the personality of God, the contemplative mystic experiences, not a personal God, but that "dynamic essence" (*hiyyuth*), that "divine spark" (*nissoṣ 'elohi*) which dwell in all worlds and in all beings, in a real ontological sense. This conception is not identical with that of the talmudic-midrashic *Shekhina*, which is divine immanence of a personal character.¹ The Hasidic *hiyyuth* has in the school of the Great Maggid the definite sense of dynamic pantheism, expressed through the originally neoplatonic, later Cabbalistic, doctrine of emanation. Even if some traces of a personal conception can still be found in the process of emanation, it is quite clear that the result of emanation, the divine, *hiyyuth*, which is the object of the religious experience, is definitely impersonal. In the Ḥabad system the "impersonality" of God becomes even more accentuated.

If the mystical theology of the Great Maggid and of Ḥabad can be formulated in a series of terms such as: immanence, pantheism (pan-entheism), impersonal God, emanation; the theology of Brazlav can be expressed in a series of almost opposite terms such as: irrational or rather anti-rational theism, transcendence of God, and a personal and voluntaristic God who leads the world towards Redemption in a paradoxical way according to his absolute Will. While the basic experience of Rabbi Dobh is that of God as the very essence of the world and the ontological source of it, the basic experience of Brazlav is that of a voluntaristic God whose will is anti-rational, and sometimes even antinomian. Hence the full concept of a personal God becomes the basic characteristic of Rabbi Nahman of Brazlav.

The whole relation of God to the world changes fundamentally as soon as God is conceived not as dwelling in the world, as pantheism does, but as ruling it from above by absolute will. God's relation to the world is that of a sovereign creator who rules his creation absolutely. According to Brazlav God's power is unlimited and He bequeaths life to all being, whereas to the contemplative mystic God is the hidden life of all being. According to Brazlav God's decrees and deeds excite but wonder and amazement in man. As against this the Ḥabad motto is characteristically "the divine thing is very close to you." In the mystical, contemplative conception the frontiers remain open between the "above" and the "below," whereas in the school of Brazlav there is no such mystical "confusion." God is God, the world is the world, and neither kingdom invades its neighbour.

2. Such are the differing conceptions of God which derive from a pantheistic view on the one hand, and from a paradoxical

¹ See J. ABELSON, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, London, 1912, passim.

theism on the other. Other, no less important, consequences follow from these contrasting positions. Pantheistic mysticism is intrinsically monistic. If the whole universe is full of God, the realm of the metaphysical evil, the realm of impurity and *kelipah* has no place in it. The strong monistic tendencies in R. Dobh's doctrine are not the accidental result of historic development; they are consequential and self-consistent. Indeed, the extreme monism of the Ḥabad doctrine extinguishes all dualistic tendencies in its religious world-picture. The changes that have occurred in Hasidism as compared with the mystical Lurianic world-picture, are easily recognisable, since the frame of the Lurianic Cabbala with its sharp dualistic tendencies was retained, as the formal medium of thought and expression, in the Hasidic theory. But in the latter, the Lurianic terminology has changed its meaning; in the course of this semantic change the Lurianic concepts have lost all their dualistic poignancy.¹

Let us take, for example, the Lurianic concept of *Šimšum*, or the "self-withdrawal" of God. This concept, originally formulated in order to avoid even the remotest possibility of a pantheistic view, became in Hasidism, through a new interpretation given to it by the Great Maggid, the very floodgate for pantheism. In the Lurianic Cabbala, *Šimšum* originally indicated God's withdrawal from the universe,² while in the world-picture of the Great Maggid, it indicates God's dwelling within the universe. Furthermore, in the Lurianic Cabbala, with its dualistic tendencies, evil as a metaphysical reality has its own realm, whereas in the pantheistic monism of the Great Maggid the reality of evil is totally annulled. Good and evil, holiness and unholiness are no more diametrically opposed to each other, but become "degrees" of being in the one world of divine emanation. Evil is but the lowest degree of the "good," and sin may become the throne of "excellence."

It is altogether different in the Brazlav system. In it the dualism of the Cabbala, and especially of the Lurianic Cabbala, becomes again alive with even greater intensity and vitality. The evil powers carve out for themselves an autonomous demonic realm. The anonymous demonic powers of the Lurianic Cabbala find now in Brazlav a point of reference, the Devil, who is conceived as a living personality, full of reality, not as the personification of anonymous, evil powers.

3. The further point of this analysis of the two Hasidic trends deals with the problem of the relation between God and man. This problem is concerned with the "what," and with the "how" of this relation.

¹ The first attempt to analyse this semantic process was made by M. TEITELBAUM, *Ha-Rab mi-Lady*, vol. ii (1913), p. 3 seqq.

² The original Lurianic concept of *Šimšum* is discussed by SCHOLEM, *op. cit.*, p. 260-265; and IS. TISHBY, *Torath ha-Ra'*, etc. Jerusalem, 1942.

Regarding the "what" of this relation, the crucial question is: What is in the scale of religious values the supreme value which determines man's life? The contemplative, mystical systems of Hasidism answer this question by the concepts of contemplation, *debhequth* and ecstasy *biṭṭul hayyesh* (Baal Shem, the Maggid and Ḥabad). In the system of Brazlav faith, 'emunah is placed at the summit of all religious values. The mystical way of contemplation and ecstasy, and the life of faith, are two different and even opposite categories of religious existence and religious consciousness. They seldom mix with each other as the history of religions clearly shows, except in the ordinary unreflecting religious life when they appear as supplementary to each other.

Ecstasy, as well as contemplation, has as its basic assumption the consciousness of a special nearness of God to man. I have already mentioned that this nearness is theologically established in the systems of the Great Maggid and of Ḥabad. The very act of contemplation and of ecstasy following upon it are based on a direct experience of the Divine. There is no gulf between God and man. On the contrary: a direct bridge unites them.

The main characteristic of faith, 'emunah, is an "indirect" way in a special sense. The open gulf between the believer and the object of his belief is overcome, according to Brazlav, by "faith" in dangerous paradoxes. The gulf between the divine and the human realms appears not only in the ontological transcendency of God (He is not "within" the world), but also in His "logical" transcendency (He is paradoxical), and these two kinds of transcendency are by no means identical. The Brazlav school puts thus its highest religious value, 'emunah, faith, on the edge of a knife: faith is paradoxical and the believer must hold to it, not by an intellectual act of understanding, but by the sacrifice of his intellect; this amounts to an "existential" struggle and a permanent logical crisis, since man is confronted with the paradoxical God and the paradoxical "Ṣaddiq."¹

It is not surprising that subtle discussions as to the genuineness of ecstasy should predominate in the Ḥabad system, and that faith became almost to be considered a biological fact.² Such discussions turn round the criterion of the "divine" ecstasy, as opposed to the artificially stimulated "devilish" ecstasy. All this is characteristic of the special interest which mystics of all ages and all religions take in their inner life and the analysis of their ecstatic experiences. It is therefore not accidental, but a corollary of their underlying ideas, that the crucial problem in the Ḥabad school is the certainty

¹ See my Hebrew essay on the Brazlavic concept of paradoxical faith, in *Schocken Festschrift*, 'Ale 'Ayin, Jerusalem, 1947-52, pp. 245-291. Further research has convinced me that the theory of the paradox is much more centred round the person of the "true Ṣaddiq"—R. Nahman himself—than I had thought at the time of writing this article.

² See R. DOBH BEER's Preface to his *Kunteros ha-Hithpa'aluth*.

of the mystical experience and in the Brazlav school, the certainty of faith.

4. The other radical difference between the contemplative and ecstatic way of the mystics and the way of faith comes to light in the "how" of the relation between God and man. In the spiritual exercises of the Great Maggid and his school the personal relationship with God is lacking. The Divine is conceived as something impersonal. The divine essence, the *hiyyuth*, which dwells in all things is a-personal. Indeed, the contemplative mystic renounces even his own personality, since he aims through the complicated technique of contemplation at attaining a state of ecstasy in which the "extinction of existence," *biṭṭul hayyesh*, the extinction of personality in the self-annihilation of consciousness, is achieved.

"Faith" in the Brazlav school is opposed to this impersonal way. "Faith" is here considered as the relation of one personality to another. The assertion of the personality on the human as well as on the divine side is carried to its extreme. Not only the duty of "faith" in God, but also, and even more so, the duty of "faith" in the "Ṣaddiq" is inculcated. Such "faith" is by definition essentially personal. This personal character of faith reaches its peak with the demand for a paradoxical faith in the "true Ṣaddiq" (*Ṣaddiq ha'emeth*), Rabbi Naḥman himself. The religious life in the Brazlav school is thus built upon the "life in faith," upon the relation between "I" and "Thou." The lack of this "I-Thou" relation and, indeed, its extirpation, characterises the opposite mystical contemplative trend.

5. The essential difference of attitude in the two trends of Hasidism is fully reflected in the opposing conception of the function of the prayer. The essence of religious attitude can be generally found in prayer. In the school of the Great Maggid and the Habad, prayer serves as an occasion for, and the means of, contemplation and ecstasy. Prayer becomes here a kind of special vehicle of the main contents of the contemplative life.

In the Brazlav school prayer is conceived, to the contrary, as a "dialogue between creature and Creator" (*siḥah b'heno lebhen qono*)—a dialogue between a personal human being and a personal divine being. It is no longer an occasion for ecstasy leading to self-annihilation. The Brazlav prayer-book¹ bears witness in all the details to this conception of the nature and the function of the prayer.

The difference between the two schools is even more accentuated in the contents of prayer which display the antagonism between the personal and impersonal attitudes on a new level. According to the theory of the Great Maggid which originated in some sayings of Baal Shem Tobh, and further back in the Cabbala, no one

¹ R. NATHAN STERNHERZ, *Liqute Tefilloth*, Brazlav, 1822.

should pray for his own particular, personal needs. The abolition of the worshipper's personality begins thus in the very act of contemplative prayer from which all reference to personal needs is eliminated, and reaches its culminating point in the ecstasy when the personal consciousness becomes totally annihilated. The worshipper's desire to slough his personality and to disregard his private needs, is typical of all contemplative mystics. The contemplative, mystical school of Hasidism demands the elimination of the worshipper's personality in a twofold way—the extinction of personal consciousness in ecstasy, and the elimination of all reference to personal needs. When the worshipper prays, not for his own needs, nor for the needs of the community, but “for the needs of the divine Shekhina”—a closed circle, not an arc, of relation is thus established between him who speaks and Him who listens.

In the Brazlav school, to the contrary, the worshipper asks in his prayer for God's deliberate intervention in the world; he asks for miracles, both “hidden” and “visible.” The Brazlav prayer, therefore, always originates from a given situation and refers to a concrete state of misery: the personal note is never eliminated. All private matters may become the subject of prayer. In the “dialogue between creature and Creator” the personal wish is not submerged in the higher, divine pattern.

6. The antagonism between the two conceptions comes also to light in the theoretical sphere dealing with the nature of man and his power. An optimistic anthropology, a positive assessment of man's powers and his metaphysical situation as to the possibilities available for him for perfection and holiness stand against a pessimistic anthropology and a negative assessment of man's metaphysical situation. The contemplative, mystical conception of the Great Maggid over-estimates man; the anthropological despair of the Brazlav school underestimates man's powers. There is in some of R. Nahman's allegories a striking expression of the fallen metaphysical state of man.¹ We find in them, as it were, an echo of modern polemics between the philosophical anthropology of idealism and that of dialectical theology.

The metaphysical remoteness of man from the divine proclaimed by the Brazlav school is derived from its theological conception of the extreme transcendence of God. The theological conception and the anthropological conception represent the two sides of one and the same coin. The essential human remoteness from the divine characterises man's status and is the result of his original sin. No deeper difference in religious consciousness could be conceived than

¹ One of R. Nahman's allegories has been compared to Kafka's short stories. This is the only valuable remark in E. STEINMAN's otherwise worthless introduction to his selections from R. Nahman's writings, *Kithbe R. Nahman Mi-Brazlav*, Tel Aviv, 1951, p. 23.

that between the optimistic atmosphere of the Great Maggid's and the Ḥabad schools concerning man's high possibilities (his "divine soul" becomes the dwelling place of the *Shekhina* in the act of ecstasy), and the atmosphere of the pessimistic teachings of the Brazlav school in regard to the fallen nature of man. Far from asserting that the human soul is divine, the highest conception the Brazlav anthropology has reached is represented by the notion that there are some "good points," *nequdoth tobhoth*, in every man.

7. The problem of man's status in the world leads directly to the problem of the nature of sin. The mystic, contemplative trend dilutes the nature of sin in a general idealistic frame. In Hasidic mysticism, sin has lost its depth from the moment that it is admitted that religious enthusiasm is but the transformation of the "will to evil" (*yeṣer hara'*).¹ It is very instructive to compare the dilution of sin achieved in the mystic, contemplative school with the tragic conception of sin in the Brazlav school. According to the latter school every sin committed by man is an echo of the fathomless primordial sin, which dwells in man owing to his very existence as a human being.² The specific antagonism between enthusiastic idealism and theology of crisis reveals itself again in the concepts of sin of the Great Maggid and the Brazlav schools.

8. The opposition of the two schools can be clearly seen in their different attitude to the essential Hasidic phenomenon, the personality of the "Ṣaddiq," and, in general, to the institution of the charismatic leadership. While the school of the Great Maggid, and especially Ḥabad, does not overstress the function of the "Ṣaddiq" and of his status as an extraordinary being, we find in Brazlav a special theory of the "Ṣaddiq" and his vocation. According to this theory there is but one "Ṣaddiq," the exceptional personality, the unique hidden leader of the universe, who is the "paradoxical" Messiah and in whose hands are the keys of the whole cosmos. This is Rabbi Naḥman himself. The esoteric doctrines of Brazlav teachings have not yet been made public by their followers, but it seems that they contain the doctrine of the divine nature of the "Ṣaddiq"-Messiah. The "paradoxical" belief in the "Ṣaddiq" is by its nature indirect, in contrast with the direct relation prevailing in the ecstatic experience of the contemplative mystic. The direct ecstatic experience of God in the contemplative mystical trend of Hasidism leaves, in fact, no room for the function of the "Ṣaddiq." But in the Brazlav teaching which admits no ecstatic experience, the theory of "Ṣaddiqism" appears in the shape of a theory of mediation.

9. The last point of our analysis of these two Hasidic trends

¹ On the romantic psychology of religious enthusiasm in early Hasidism, see my essay in *Zion*, p. 88.

² The tragic sin of the "Ṣaddiq" lies in his necessarily antinomian destiny as Restorer and Redeemer.

concerns the problem of eschatology, that is, the expectation of the Messianic redemption. Again, the differences between the two trends are very poignant. The contemplative, mystical trend abolishes the intense interest in the Messiah and his collective redemption. No Messianic yearning exists in the mystical tenets of the Maggid. This is a necessary corollary of his original attitude: the contemplative religious experience—the central point of this type of piety—is a personal, private experience and it is not connected with history. Since the mystical experience is not essentially based on the historical event, called Revelation on Mount Sinai, it is not related either to the post-historical event called Redemption. The well-attested mystical indifference to all history is fully confirmed by the contemplative, mystical trend of Hasidism. The lack of all Messianic tension is a characteristic feature of its contemplative piety.

In the Brazlav school, to the contrary; the main emphasis is laid on the paradoxical ways of Redemption. Rabbi Nahman himself thought that his own soul was the soul of the Messiah, and he hoped at one time that the final Redemption would come during his lifetime. This is the point of crystallisation of the two basic categories of Brazlavic existence: "faith" born from despair converges at the eschatological point with the "hope" born from despair. Both categories tend towards Messianic redemption; no one should despair to see the final redemption, even now in a state which is beyond despair:

The picture of the future redeemed world is again consistent in both schools. The Great Maggid and Habad are extremely parsimonious in giving details of the changes that will take place in the days of the Messiah, and there is in their teachings no trace of a revolutionary conception of the Messianic future. This contemplative mystical school does not, of course, deny the messianic redemption in a dogmatic sense, but it never describes Redemption as something fundamentally different from the present state of the world.

On the other hand, the school of R. Nahman hopes for the radical change in the future, which will fulfil the most intimate yearnings of the believer. In the present world, faith is opposed to reason, but in the "world to come," in the Messianic era, faith will become reason. There will be complete identity between them. In the present world we do believe despite all evidence, but in the next world rational evidence will support the believer. The world of faith will become the world of reason, and the paradoxical faith of to-day the rationalism of the messianic to-morrow. There can be no other expectation for those who, like the followers of the Brazlav school, feed their faith on a religious paradox.

We may sum up the results of this brief survey of Hasidism thus: there is in it no conformity of ideas on any basic religious

question. There is, to the contrary, a dichotomy of directions which find expression in two theoretical systems: one direction is that of the mystical, contemplative type with an idealistic and semi-pantheistic outlook. The other is that of the piety of faith, which lives in an atmosphere of "existentialism."

No difference more fundamental than that between these two schools of thought can exist within a religious movement. To present Hasidism as a uniform movement is to take no account of the vital differences that exist in it.

Jerusalem—Oxford.

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THE OLD PALESTINIAN RITUAL— NEW SOURCES

The structure of Jewish liturgy rests on two fundamental rites, the Palestinian and the Babylonian. Most of the divergences in matters of ritual and worship among the Jews in various countries and ages can, in the last analysis, be traced back to the differences between these two rites. Indeed, a great variety of ritualistic customs owe their very origin to the mutual interpenetration of these two rites or to deliberate attempts to harmonise them. It may be said that in no field of Jewish practice has the fusion of the Palestinian and Babylonian elements become so inextricable as in the domain of Jewish worship.

The reconstruction of the ritual of the Holy Land, after centuries of almost total oblivion, has been made possible mainly through the tattered leaves preserved in the Geniza of the ancient Palestinian Synagogue in Cairo. The information supplied by the Geniza is of primary importance for the ancient history of Jewish liturgy and for a real understanding of the rise and development of the different rituals in oriental and European lands which were drawn into the orbit of both Palestinian and Babylonian influences.

It must be remembered that, notwithstanding the sway the Babylonian academies had held over the Jewish communities in the Gaonic period, and in spite of the condemnation by the Geonim of the religious practices of the Holy Land—they ascribed them to ignorance and even decried them as heretical—the Palestinian influence, especially in the field of ritual, was still alive long after the Babylonian Talmud had become the supreme authority.

The reconstruction of the whole fabric of this ancient and basic rite must wait until full use has been made of the Geniza material which, although it has already yielded valuable results,¹ is far from being exhausted.

Our purpose here is to make an addition to that reconstruction, by publishing a Geniza fragment in the University Library, Cambridge. The fragment consists of two consecutive parchment leaves (torn in a few places), with 20 lines to the page and rubrics in Arabic written in Hebrew characters. The text of the fragment is printed at the end of this paper.

Our chief interest lies in two passages. In the first, reference is made to a custom of the Holy Land—a custom hitherto wholly unknown. In discussing this passage in the first section of our paper, we shall call attention to, and give an explanation of, an

¹ See J. MANN, *Genizah Fragments of the Palestinian Order of Service* in *HUCA*, II (1925), 269-338; S. ASSAF, מסדר החפילה בארץ ישראל, in *B. Dinaburg Jubilee Volume*, Jerusalem, 1948, pp. 116-131.

interesting amalgamation of Palestinian and Babylonian traditions in Italy and Franco-German countries. Added significance attaches to this passage on account of the fact that it contains a quotation from a Palestinian Prayer-book. No references to Prayer-books from the Holy Land are to be found, so far as the writer knows, in published literature, and they are extremely rare even in Geniza MSS.¹

The second passage is of wider scope and interest. It relates to a custom of using biblical doxologies as prologue and epilogue to the recitation of the festival psalm. In discussing this passage in the second section of our paper, manuscript material, chiefly from the Geniza, will be cited to show the variations of this practice. The passage has also preserved the original form of the post-biblical doxological *berakha*, יהללך.

This section of our paper opens up a field of study which, when fully investigated, will yield important results and enable us to solve certain liturgical problems which have hitherto defied a satisfactory explanation. Moreover, a full survey of the usage of doxologies in the early Synagogue will throw new light on the relationship between Jewish and Christian liturgy.

THE HABHDALAH IN THE FESTIVAL 'AMIDAH, ACCORDING TO THE PALESTINIAN RITE

I

The place in the Eighteen Benedictions, '*amidah*, where the *habhdalah* should be inserted was the subject of a tannaitic controversy. The Mishnah² records no less than three different opinions. Of these, the opinion of the Sages, according to which the *habhdalah* should be incorporated in the fourth benediction (אתה חונן), became finally predominant, against the views of both R. 'Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, who regarded the seventeenth thanksgiving benediction as the appropriate place for the insertion in question, and R. 'Akiba, who demanded a separate fourth benediction for the *habhdalah*.

The custom of inserting the *habhdalah* in the fourth benediction of the '*amidah* at the end of the Sabbath day could apply only when the following Sunday was a week-day. When, however, the Sabbath was followed by a festival, in which case the fourth benediction was not recited in the '*amidah* at the end of the Sabbath day, the question still remained which view, that of R. 'Akiba, or that of R. 'Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, should be followed.

As far as Babylonian Jewry was concerned, this question was solved as early as the first half of the third century C.E. The two

¹ One Geniza fragment was published by I. ABRAHAMS, in *HUCA*, I, pp. 384-5 and analysed by MANN, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

² *Berakh.*, v, 2.

leading Babylonian 'Amoraim, Rab and Samuel—who exerted a formative influence on Jewish liturgy¹—decided to follow neither of these alternatives, and instituted a special formula (ותודיענו) to be included in the *middle* benediction of the festival 'amidah.²

As regards the Holy Land, neither the Palestinian nor the Babylonian Talmud, though both have preserved discussions on the subject,³ contains definite information as to which custom was finally adopted. Nor do we find any reference to it in the medieval halakhic and liturgical literature, in which ritualistic differences are usually discussed at great length. The only exception is the lost commentary of Hai Gaon on *Berakhoth*, the relevant passage of which was discovered in the Geniza by the late J. Mann.⁴ The Gaon writes :

Concerning a festival falling on a Sunday, it is reported that in the Land of Israel until now they recite the *habhdalah* as a separate fourth benediction.⁵

This piece of information is certainly of great interest as it enriches our knowledge of the old Palestinian ritual by revealing yet another of the differences that prevailed between the Holy Land and Babylonia in the Gaonic period. It further shows the tenacity with which the Jews in Palestine clung to their customs, even as late as the eleventh century.

Now, to this solitary source we are in a position to add a new one: the CUL Geniza fragment. This not only supplies new information as to the custom at issue, but gives, in addition, the formula of the *habhdalah* as it was customary in the Holy Land. Of special significance is the fact that, as pointed out above, both the information about, and the text of, the *habhdalah* are taken directly from a Palestinian Prayer-book.

The chief importance of the new source lies, however, in the fact that the information contained in it is at variance with the report given by Hai Gaon and challenges its authenticity. The passage runs as follows :

ואזא אתפק אלפסח או אלענצרה לילה אלאחד רסם אלשאם
פי פצל הטוב לך להודות יזכרו אלהבדלה בקול כזי מונוד
פי סידורה.

If Passover or Pentecost falls on a Saturday night, it is customary in the Holy Land to recite the *habhdalah* in the section *הטוב לך להודות* [i.e., the seventeenth benediction]. It is thus found in their Prayer-book.

¹ Cf. ROSENTHAL'S note in *Graetz, Geschichte der Juden* (4th ed.), iv, pp. 463-473.

² See *T.B. Berakh.*, 33b.

³ See *T.B.*, *ibid.*; *Yer. Ber.* v, 2 (9b).

⁴ Cf. *Ha-Zofeh le-Hokhmah Yisrael*, vi, pp. 196-7; *HUCA*, II, p. 318, note 109.

⁵ See the Hebrew text in MANN, *op. cit.* (note 4, above). This custom is in accordance with R. 'Akiba's opinion.

In other words, according to this source, the Jews in Palestine followed the opinion of R. 'Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, and not that of R. 'Akiba, as Hai Gaon reported.

The question at once arises: which of these conflicting accounts is authentic? In attempting to answer this question we have to bear in mind the following: Hai Gaon's account was based neither on a first-hand source, such as the Palestinian Prayer-book quoted in the Geniza fragment, nor on his personal experience in a Palestinian Synagogue. It is founded entirely on hearsay, as he himself clearly indicates by the word **אמר**. On the other hand, the compiler of the manuscript from which our fragment emanates derived his information from a Prayer-book of the Holy Land, as he explicitly states. This consideration would entitle us to give preference to his testimony over that of Hai Gaon.

After further reflection, however, we may see that there are no grounds for doubting the authenticity of Hai's account. Doubt would have been justified if it conflicted with our fragment. This, however, is not the case. The two accounts are by no means mutually exclusive; both may well be correct, since the two different customs concerned could well have been in vogue among Jews in Palestine. Disparity of custom in matters of liturgy is a frequent and widespread phenomenon, which is met with in all countries and ages.

Hence the conclusion to be drawn from the two different accounts is that no uniformity of practice as to the question at issue had established itself among the Jews in the Holy Land, and that in fact the two rival customs flourished there side by side. A similar lack of uniformity we shall meet later on with regard to the text itself of the *habhdalah*.¹

How can this disparity of practice be explained?

A summary of the talmudic data alluded to above will furnish the answer. A report was current in Palestine and Babylonia that the Patriarch R. Juda I made a pronouncement on the question of the insertion of the *habhdalah* in the festival 'amidah. However, the precise formulation of his pronouncement was a point of dispute among the Palestinian 'Amoraim in the third century. While one tradition had it that the Patriarch gave a definite decision, *halakha*, in favour of R. 'Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, another maintained that he was merely "inclined" towards his view, without, however, raising it to the status of *halakha*.² According to the Palestinian Talmud the latter view was upheld by the most prominent 'Amora of the Holy Land, R. Yohanan b. Nappaha.

Undoubtedly, the absence of a definite decision in favour of

¹ Cf. p. 36.

² See p. 32, n. 2, 3. On the text in Babli see RABBINOVICZ, *Variae Lectiones*, ad loc., and N. CORONEL, *Beth Nathan*, ad loc. As to the meaning of the terms הלכה and משנה see Hai Gaon's explanation, 'Ozar ha-Geonim, Berakhot (ha-Perushim), p. 46, and R. HANAN'EL, *ibid.*, p. 41.

either R. 'Akiba or R. 'Eliezer must have been reflected in the practice of the Synagogue and resulted in local disparity already in talmudic times. Hence, the difference of custom as expressed in the two accounts at our disposal is nothing else than a continuation of a state of affairs that had prevailed centuries earlier.

Here then is additional proof, if proof were needed, that the Palestinian customs in the Gaonic period were not the result of religious confusion and ignorance, but were rooted in ancient traditions.

The conclusion we arrived at concerning the authenticity of Hai Gaon's account can be strengthened by rather unexpected sources. Traces of the custom which follows R. 'Akiba's opinion can be detected in sources emanating from Italy and Franco-German countries. It will be remembered that the Jews in those countries received their early traditions from the Holy Land. Now the sources referred to, which have been overlooked hitherto, can be explained only on the assumption that at one time those countries followed a custom in accordance with R. 'Akiba's opinion—a custom which they could have adopted only from Palestine.

A passage interpolated in MS. Sulzberger of *Seder Rabh 'Amram*,¹ not found in the two other MSS. (Oxford and London), runs as follows:

If Passover or any other festival like Pentecost or Tabernacles falls on the outgoing of the Sabbath one has to pray thus:
 וְהָיָא בְּחַרְתָּנוּ אֶתְּהָ וּבָא, יַעֲלֶה וְיָבֵא and instead of [the middle benediction]
 חֲמִידָא בֵּין וְתוֹדִיעָנוּ one should say חֲמִידָא בֵּין וְתוֹדִיעָנוּ
 קֹדֶשׁ לְקֹדֶשׁ²

The same custom is referred to in *Mahzor Vitry* as having been in vogue in earlier times:

At first, they used to say וְתוֹדִיעָנוּ instead of וְהָיָא and concluded it with the eulogy חֲמִידָא בֵּין קֹדֶשׁ לְקֹדֶשׁ. It is, however, not right to omit the seventh benediction, since if one has not said the benediction of the day, it is considered as if he had not recited the 'amidah' at all.³

How is the rise of this strange custom, which has no basis in Talmudic sources, to be explained?

An analysis reveals its composite nature: it represents a compromise between Palestinian and Babylonian traditions, by converting the formula וְתוֹדִיעָנוּ, customary in Babylonia, into a

¹ See ALEXANDER MARX, *Untersuchungen zum Siddur des Gaon R. Amram* (offprint from *Jahrbuch der Juedisch-Literarischen Gesellschaft*, vol. V), p. 26 (Heb. part). MS. Sulzberger was written in an Italian-Rabbinic hand at Trani in 1506 (not 1516, as erroneously printed, *ibid.*, German part, p. 17), see facsimile of the colophon in *J.E.*, x, p. 173.

² See MARX, *loc. cit.*

³ Ed. HOROWITZ, Berlin, 1893, p. 300.

separate fourth benediction, as demanded by R. 'Akiba. This was achieved by concluding it with the eulogy **המבדיל בין קדש לקדש**.

The development, then, is quite obvious: Originally, the Jews in Italy and Franco-German lands must have followed R. 'Akiba's opinion. When, however, the Babylonian Talmud began to exercise its influence among them, they—being unwilling to discard an old-established custom—modified it in two respects. First, the Babylonian formula **ותודיענו** was adopted, but with an important difference: not as an addition to the middle benediction, but as an independent fourth benediction. Secondly, the usual middle benediction was eliminated. Beyond doubt, this was done in order to meet the objection raised in the Babylonian Talmud¹ against an independent fourth benediction on the grounds that it runs counter to the Rabbinic institution, which confined the number of the benedictions of the festival *'amidah* to seven.

Here we have an example of how an attempt to harmonise Palestinian and Babylonian traditions resulted in the formation of a new custom, which was, however, far from being a harmonious blending, since the elimination of the middle benediction—justly criticised by *Mahzor Vitry*—was contrary to a basic rule accepted in both countries.

II

Concerning the text of the *habhdalah*, which was customary in the Holy Land, we can confine ourselves to the following observations:

1. In our fragment the *habhdalah* begins with the words **אחה הברלת**. One will note that these words form likewise the beginning of the *habhdalah* to be inserted in the fourth "benediction" at the termination of the Sabbath, according to 'Amram,² Sa'adya,³ Maimonides,⁴ and the Italian rite,⁵ although the latter texts are in all other respects entirely different from that in our fragment. It should further be recalled that the introductory phrase in which God is addressed in the second person is a common feature of a number of ancient prayers.⁶ It has been observed that this intimate mode of address is characteristic of the oriental style of prayer in general.⁷

2. Deviating from all other rites, which enumerate only three "divisions" (**הברלות**), viz., "between light and darkness," "holy

¹ *Berakh.*, 33b.

² *Seder Rabh 'Amram*, ed. Warsaw, p. 31a; ed. FRUMKIN, II, p. 108.

³ *Siddur R. Saadja Gaon*, ed. I. DAVIDSON, S. ASSAF, B. I. JOEL, Jerusalem, 1941, p. 124.

⁴ In *Seder Tefilloth kol ha-Shanah*.

⁵ See *Mahzor Roma*, ed. S. D. LUZZATTO (Livorno 1856), i, p. 15a.

⁶ Cf. for instance: **אחה נגלית, אחה זוכר, אחה יצרת, אחה קדשת, אחה בזרחתני, אחה נותן יר** לפושעים. See A. SPANIER, *Stilkritisches zum juedischen Gebet*, in *MGWJ.* 81, 1936, p. 343.

⁷ Cf. E. NORDEN, *Agnostos Theos*, p. 183.

and profane," and "Israel and the heathen nations," Palestinian texts contain, in addition, three other pairs: "clean and unclean," "the sea and the dry land," and "the upper and lower waters." These "divisions" are mentioned in the following Geniza fragments¹ (all three in the first, the latter two only in the second fragment):

CUL, T-S. H. 2/152

ואן כאן לילה אלאחד יקול בא" יי
אל" מה" בורא מאזוי האש בא" יי אל" מה"
המבדיל בין קדש לקדש בין שבת קדש
ליום מקרא קדש בין שמא לשהור בין
הים לחרבה בין המים העליונים למים
התחתונים בין ישראל לגויים בין קדושת
שבת לקדושת יום טוב וכתוב² והייתם
קדושים כי קדוש אני יי ואבדיל אתכם
מן העמים להיות לי בא" יי המבדיל
בין קדוש לקדוש.³

Westminster College, Liturgica II/85

ויקף יצלי יי שפתי אלי האל הקדוש
חם יקול חנינו⁴ דיעה מאתך
ולמדנו בינה מתורתך האל
המבדיל בין קדש לחול בין
המים העליונים למים התחתונים
בין הים ליבשה בין ישראל
לגוים בין יום השביעי לששת
ימי המעשה בין אור לחשך
וכתוב והייתם לי קדושים כי
קדוש אני יי ואבדיל אתכם
מן העמים להיות לי וכתוב⁵ כי
יי יתן חכמה מפיו דעת ותבונה
ב . . . חונן הרעת.

¹ See also MANN, *HUCA*, II, p. 323.

² Lev. xx, 26. Cf. *Shibbole ha-Leqet*, p. 104: "ואילו שאומרים בהבדלה נכתוב והייתם לי קדושים . . . כתב ר' בנימין דלא סבירא ליה . . ."

³ This passage is taken from a fragment of two parchment leaves containing a portion of the Passover *Haggadah*. The *Qiddush* is followed by the benediction: "בא"י אמ"ה שעשה נסים לאבותינו בימים האלו . . .". This benediction was not customary in the two Babylonian academies, and R. 'Amram Gaon strongly objected to it. Cf. *Seder R. 'Amram*, ed. Warsaw, p. 37a; ed. FRUMKIN, II, pp. 205-6. See also *Sefer ha-Pardes* (ed. EHRENREICH), p. 48; *Shibbole ha-leqet*, p. 183; *Tur Orah Hayyim*, 473; ABUDRAHAM (ed. Warsaw), p. 117.

⁴ See MANN, p. 306. This form of the fourth benediction of the 'amidah is as yet the briefest; it consists of six words only. It should be compared with the formula published by S. SCHECHTER, *J.Q.R.*, x, p. 656, reprinted by I. ELBOGEN, *Der juedische Gottesdienst*, etc. (2nd ed.), p. 517.

⁵ Prov. ii, 6.

In the fragment printed at the end of this paper the "divisions," "upper and lower waters," and "sea and dry land" are ingeniously combined in one phrase, couched in cosmogonic language: *בין פלג לרקיע שלג ארץ הקפיתה*, "Between the sea and the firmament Thou hast solidified the snow into earth." The cosmogonic conceptions reflected in this phrase are: (1) that the snow was the primordial substance from which the earth was created,¹ and (2) that the earth extends over the waters.²

The custom of including the additional "divisions" mentioned above has its roots in tannaitic traditions, as recorded in an anonymous *Baraita*.³

3. Special emphasis deserves the inclusion of the "division": "sea and dry land." This is quite in accordance with the aforementioned *Baraita*. It stands, however, in sharp contrast to the Babylonian Talmud, which rejects it, and, what is more, explicitly states that the *Baraita* has to be emended by expunging the phrase "between the sea and the dry land." In the Palestinian ritual no notice was taken of this emendation.

4. A comparison of the texts at our disposal shows that variations⁴ existed in the Palestinian ritual itself as to the number of "divisions" to be recited, in contrast to Babylonia, where a standardised version embodying three fixed "divisions" became the general rule. This disparity of custom, too, was already in evidence in the talmudic period, when the range of the variations was even wider⁵ than that reflected in the Geniza versions.

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(To be continued)

¹ Based on Job xxxvii, 7. This theory is found in a number of passages in rabbinic literature. Cf. *Yer. Hag.* ii, 1 (77a); *Gen. R.*, i, 6 (ed. THEODOR-ALBECK, p. 4); *Tanhuma* (ed. BUBER, *Bereshit* 11, p. 8); *Miqez*, 16 (202); *Pirke de-Rabbi 'Eliezer*, chap. iii; *Midrash Konen*, JELLINEK, *Beth ha-Midrash*, ii, p. 24 (EIZENSTEIN, *'Ozar Midrashim*, p. 254); *Pesiqa Hadta* (EIZENSTEIN, p. 487). See also *B. Yoma*, 54b. Cf. further KALIR's *piyyut* for rain in the liturgy for the 8th day of Tabernacles in the Ashkenazic *Mahzor*: *דבר והעריך תפתה משליג מים*; also *Siddur Sa'adya*, p. 348, line 4: *ביסרו חלד משלג המוקפה מים*.

² Based on Ps. cxxxvi, 6. This view was held by R. 'Eliezer b. Hyrcanus, see *Mekhilta* to Ex. 15, 22 (ed. HOROVITZ-RABIN, p. 154). Cf. further *B. Hag.* 12b, and *Pirke de-Rabbi 'Eliezer*, v: "The earth is spread over the waters like a ship which floats in the midst of the sea." *כאניה שחא צפה בלג ים כך הארץ מוקפת על המים*. So also YOSE BEN YOSE in his *Abhodah* composition: *בירר על מים עמודי חלד* (*Siddur Sa'adya*, p. 265, line 13). On *brr* in the meaning of "establish," see M. ZULAY, *Studies of the Research Institute for Hebrew Poetry*, Jerusalem, vol. vi, p. 177; *Siddur Sa'adya*, p. 399, line 43: *הנל איששה בשבע ימי ימים*.

³ *B. Pes.* 104a.

⁴ None of the texts so far discovered contain the "division," *המים ליים*, mentioned in the *Baraita*. In two of our fragments (T-S. H.8/61 and T-S. H.2/152) the "division": "light and darkness" is absent. This seems to have originally been the case also in the fragment from Westminster College, as we may infer from the misplacement of the words *אור לחשך* *בין* which give the impression of a later interpolation. This fragment omits also the "division": "clean and unclean."

⁵ The Patriarch R. Juda I regarded one "division" as sufficient; *B. Pes.* 104a: *המבריל בין קודש לחול וזו היא הברלות של ר' יהודה הנשיא*. So did the Tanna R. Menahem b. Simai (*ibid*).

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

1. A THIRD DEAD SEA SCROLL OF ISAIAH*

A fragment from the Wady' Muraba'at finds published in facsimile in PEF QS, 84 (October, 1952), pl. XXVIII, No. 3, belongs to a third Dead Sea Scroll of Isaiah—as can be seen from the following transcription¹:

1	Is. I, 4 ^b	אחור	
2	I, 5 ^b	כל ראש ל[חלן]	(6)
3	I, 6 ^a	רא[ש] [אין] [בין] ²	(6)
4	6 ^b	מרינה ³ לא	(4)
5	6 ^b /7 ^a	בש[מ]ן ארצ[כם]	(6)
6	I, 7 ^b	אש אדרתכם ⁴	(4)
7	7 ^b	ושממה כמהפכת [זרים] ⁵	(4)
8	I, 8 ^a /b	כסכה בכרם [וכמלונה] ⁶	(3)
9	8 ^b	נצו[רה]	(2)
11, 10-13 are missing			
14	Is. I, 11 ^a	ז[בחיכם] ⁷	24)
15	11 ^a	וח[לב]	(5)
16	11 ^b	לא ח[פצתי]	(5)
17	I, 12 ^b	זאת]	(6)
18	I, 13 ^a	חבי[א]	(5)
19	13 ^a	לני] ⁸	(5)
20	13 ^b	אוי]	(6)
21	I, 14 ^a	נפ[שין]	(4)

Shape and contents of the Scroll⁹:

The text comprises Is. I 4^b-14^a; it contains possible variants in v. 7^b and v. 8^a. The facsimile has been reduced in size by one

* I am indebted to DR. RABIN for some suggestions.

¹ The figures on the left indicate the lines in the MS. The bracketed figures on the right give the number of words missing in the fragment as compared with MT.

² The beginning of the letter נ is just visible.

³ Instead of 'athnahta we have here a gap.

⁴ MT.: אדמתכם.

⁵ The head sticking out shows that the next letter is the top of zayin, not samekh.

⁶ The top of the next letter seems to be that of waw; MT כמלונה.

⁷ The first letter is zayin. The head of waw points to the left, that of zayin to the right—as is the case here.

⁸ The second letter is not clear in the facsimile.

⁹ As the space at the top of the fragment indicates that no more lines preceded the text in this column, an interesting conclusion may be drawn from the fact that one column consists here of ten verses (124 words in MT), whereas for the first column only four verses remain (59 words in MT). The margin at the bottom comprised 30 mm corresponding to the space occupied by six lines. If the scroll followed the rule given in *Mass. Soph.* ii, 4, it would have left blank 2/3, i.e. 20 mm at the top (cf. *Men.* f. 30a). However that may be, it follows from the number of verses left for col. 1 that about half a column was left blank at the beginning of Isaiah, a rule not observed in DSIa. This blank

half. The wide margin at the beginning indicates that the MS. is probably a fragment of a Scroll. It contains 21 lines to the column, which is about 106 mm. high with margins approximately 30 mm. at the bottom and, probably, at the top. The whole page of the Scroll measured about $30 + 106 + 30$ mm., i.e., $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Palæography and Orthography:

Beth and *kaph* are clearly distinguished; the former having a slightly sloping horizontal stroke and the latter resembling the shape of *kaph* in the "Bodleian papyrus" to be dated perhaps in the sixth century (cf. *PEF QS*, April, 1951, p. 33 and pl. X). *Daleth* and *resh* are distinguished; the former has two points at the top as in older forms. *Hē* and *heth*, though similar to each other, are distinguished: the *heth* showing two slight points at the top. *Hē* is still closed, but the left-hand downstroke is nearer the outside than in old scripts. *Teth*, *samekh*, and *shin* are pointed at the bottom, but *shin* has also a form occurring in Geniza fragments. *Waw* and *yodh* seem on the whole to have been distinguished. The foot of *lamedh* does not quite reach the bottom line. *Mem* has a shape pointing strongly to the left which occurs in III-VI century scripts but rarely in Geniza fragments. *Final mem* does not go beneath the bottom line. *Nun* has hardly a head; *final nun* has hardly a head either. *Pe* has a shape similar to that found in the "Bodleian papyrus." The script gives the definite impression of being later than the second century C.E.

The orthography points in the same direction. It is very different from that found in the DSS, except in DSIb. Even words like *lo'*, *zoth*, *rosh* are, as usual in MT, defective. In fact, the orthography agrees almost exactly with that of the Masoretic text. On the other hand, letters of different words written together in a number of cases still remind the reader of a *scriptio continua*. Final letters are used, of which *mem* and *nun* recur in the fragment.

Comparison with other texts:

As unfortunately Professor Sukenik's Isaiah Scroll is still unpublished, its readings of Is. I, 7^b, 8^a cannot be verified. For in Is. I, 7^b our Scroll reads 'adhartekhem instead of MT 'adhmathkhem. The reading is not supported by the versions or DSIa. If it has not arisen through external corruption, it is almost

goes beyond the rule laid down by *Talmud Yer.*, *Meg.* i, 9, ed. Wilna., fol. 12a and *Soph.* ii, 4, which prescribe four lines to be left between the books of the Pentateuch and three for the Minor Prophets, i.e. four, it seems, in the case of the Prophets (cf. *Bab. B. f.* 13^b and ALFASI, but cf. *Yadh. S. Torah* vii, 15, *Yor. D.* 283, 1). We are, therefore, entitled to assume that a rule similar to a Talmudic one was observed in this scroll, which also points to a century later than the second.

It is worth noting that the Talmudic rule was apparently a later addition to a "halakhah given to Moses on Mt. Sinai" and cannot therefore be expected to confirm usage in independent communities in every detail.

certainly a scribal error. The text of our Scroll, however, in Is. I, 8^b וכמלונה, against MT, is supported by LXX, Vulg., Syr., and DSIa. This reading, therefore, seems to be original. Whether in 1, 19 the reading is *li* or perhaps *lo* remains doubtful.

Summing up, it may be said that the Isaiah Scroll from the Wady' Muraba'at seems, on the whole, to agree with the Masoretic text. Its script shows some similarity with hands found in later Hebrew MSS. and it agrees, on the whole, with MT concerning the very sparing use of *matres lectiones*. Following the current terminology, the Scroll should be called "DSIc."

O. H. LEHMANN.

Oxford, December, 1952.

2. THE MEANING OF חבלי IN 'ADON 'OLAM

The word חבלי in the hemistich וצור חבלי בעת צרה of the hymn אדון עולם אשר מלך is translated in Singer's Prayer Book as "my travail." This translation is obviously based on S. Baer, who argued in his "Seder 'Abhodath Yisrael" (Rödelheim, 1868, p. 35) that חבלי must mean "my travail" (*meines Leids*), not "my portion," since it is vocalised in all editions as *hēbhli* (from *hēbheli*). "My portion" would be in Hebrew *habli*, like the word *hablē* in Jos. xvii, 5.

S. R. Hirsch follows Baer in translating the word as *meines Leidens* (Israel's Gebete, 2nd ed., Frankfurt a. M., 1906, p. 5). So also does Arye Leb Gordon in his commentary "Iyyun Tefillah" ('Oṣar ha-Tefilloth, I, New York, 1940, p. 106).

This translation, however, can hardly be correct. There is, in fact, a reference to "travail, pain" at the end of the verse, בעת צרה and it is unlikely that the poet intended to mention it earlier. Could *hebhli*, then, mean "my portion"—despite the vocalisation?

I should like to point out that in some ancient texts of the Bible there is an instance in which the word *hēbheli* has the meaning of "portion," namely, in Jos. xix, 29. Here the reading *mēhēbheli* is found, for example, in Bible, Pesaro, 1511; J. Buxtorf, *Biblia Sacra et Hebraica*, Basel, 1620; and The Polyglot Bible, London, 1655. According to Yedidyah Shelomo Norzi (in his commentary "Minhath Shay"), the Spanish texts of the Bible as well as the Codex ²הללי also give this reading. I submit therefore that the author of "'Adon 'Olam" based himself on this reading and intended *hebhli* to mean "my portion."

Stylistical considerations support the translation "my portion,"

¹ DAVIDSON, *Thesaurus*, s, 575 and iv, 220. The author of the hymn is unknown, but it has been suggested that it may be Ibn Gabirol, or Sherira Gaon, or a poet who lived before the latter.

² Famous model-codex of the Hebrew Bible in possession of the Jews in Spain. It is mentioned, for example, by DAVID QIMHI in *Sefer ha-Shorashim*, ed. BIESENTHAL-LEBRECHT, Berlin, 1847, col. 752, lines 2-3. Cpr. LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, *The Commentary of David Kimhi on Isaiah*, New York, 1926, pp. xxvii-xxviii.

for now **הבלי וצור** becomes parallel with **מנת כוס** in the next verse, and **בעת צרה** with **ביום אקרא**. Further support for this translation is to be found in the circumstance that the poet of the hymn "Adon 'Olam" made use of Ps. xvi, 5: **ד' מנת הלקי וכוס**. He derived from this verse his **מנת כוס**, and he adopted *hebhli* as a synonym of *helqi*.

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3. THE ARABIC ORIGINAL OF MAIMONIDES' REJOINDER TO SAMUEL BEN ALI

The text of Maimonides' rejoinder to Samuel b. 'Ali, the Head of the Bagdad Academy, in the dispute as to whether it is permissible to navigate rivers on the Sabbath Day has been preserved in Hebrew in two different versions. The shorter version (A) was first printed in the Constantinople edition, 1517, of Maimonides' "Responsa and Letters." The complete version (B) is contained in MS. Neofiti No. 11 in the Vatican Library. Both versions are now accessible in A. Freimann's edition of Maimonides' "Responsa," Jerusalem, 1934, on pp. 68f. (version A) and 363f. (B), respectively. The first part of the text of the rejoinder (up to: Freimann, p. 70, line 19) is identical in both versions, except for the variants in version B, which are, on the whole, more correct. But the second part differs greatly in the two versions—a point that does not seem to have been observed hitherto. In version A this part of the text is clearly a résumé of Maimonides' arguments, and its language is sometimes abusive in contrast to the polite tone of the first part of the rejoinder. It cannot therefore be considered authentic. The complete version B raises no doubts concerning the authenticity of the text apart from an apocryphal insertion towards the end.¹

What was the original language of Maimonides' rejoinder? Freimann surmises that it was Arabic,² and although the grounds of his surmise are perhaps not very firm,³ he is right. I have been fortunate to find among the Genizah papers in the Cambridge University Library two strips of paper which contain fragments of the Arabic text (in Hebrew characters) of Maimonides' rejoinder. The text of these fragments (obviously parts of different leaves of the manuscript) corresponds to the two parts of version B, not A. The Arabic text is undoubtedly original, since it is more exact than

¹ See my paper, "Maimonides' Letter to Joseph b. Jehudah," etc., in *JJS*, I, p. 48.

² Preface to the edition of "Maimonides' Responsa," p. xli.

³ Freimann quotes the *Responsum* No. 108 by Moses al-Ashqar, in which reference is made to an Arabic *Responsum* by Maimonides concerning the permissibility of disembarking from a boat on the Sabbath Day. The rejoinder to Samuel b. Ali does not mention this point. Al-Ashqar probably refers to another *Responsum*. I should like to thank here Dr. J. P. Kohn, of London, who kindly copied out for me the text of al-Ashqar's *Responsum*.

the Hebrew version. I print below the full text of the fragments and draw attention in the notes to the divergences of the Hebrew version.

The importance of these fragments, apart from their intrinsic antiquarian value and a few better readings, is, in my opinion, that they show that no restraint was felt in tampering with Maimonides' text. The rudeness in version A is due, I submit, to the pen of a man who had a share in compiling "Maimonides' Letter to Joseph b. Jehudah" and the "Treatise on Resurrection," in which Samuel b. Ali is treated with little ceremony.¹

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY MS. T-S. ARAB. 51, 146

Fol. 1a, corresponding to Freimann's text, p. 70, lines 5-9:

בקולם לוקין על עירובי תחומין דבר תורה ו' וצמנא פי דלך
אלתאליף אנא לא נזכר פיהו גיר ו' מצות דאוריתא והוא אלתאליף
איצא מוגזר פי ו' אלבגדאד ענדהם ולא נזכר הנאך תעציל ו' אלפס
משנים עשר מיל לאן לים גרין דלך אלכתאב ו' דכר פקה תלך
אלש[רא]2 בל מערפה מענאהא . . .

Fol. 1b, corresponding to Freimann's text, p. 70, lines 13-16:

למעלה מעשרה או אן אמור תחומין למעלה ו' מעשרה אנמא דלך
למעלה מעשרה³ ביבשה ו' כמא תבין הנאך הוא נצנא וקלנא איצא ו'
קבל הוא פאן רכוב ממא בהוא אלקלה ו' אעני למשה מעשרה יתעלק
בדלך אימור ו' תחומין ובעד הוא אל[אקאו]ל קלנא אלא וק⁴ . . .

Fol. 2a, corresponding to Freimann's text, pp. 364, line 4 (from bottom) to 365, line 1 (top):

[ו]תתתי אסכנדריה דאימא ולא יברח ירכבה⁴ ו' ישראל חכמים
ותלמידים במחצר נמיע אלגאונים ו' הנאך ואגלדין נזכר מהם רבינו
ברוך⁵ ורבינו ו' חנוך ורבינו משה אבנה ו' רבינו יצחק א[בן גא]ית ו'
ורבינו יצחק בן ברוך ורבינו יצחק [בעל ההלכות] ו' ורבינו יוסף הלוי
ז"ל תלמיד[ו]

Fol. 26, corresponding to Freimann's text, p. 365, lines 7-11 (from top):

מן זאנביה או מן זאנב ואחד מתל ניל מסר ולא ו' תחיל אחד אן
דלך חראם לנזארה אלמא ונרנו ו' נזיר הרה אלבאחה ביאנא ולי על
ראי מן ירי ו' [אן רכוב אלנאהאר חרמאן מא⁶ כמא זעמו ו' . . . קד
חבאח בחזרותא מא מן אגל . . . ו' זמן [אגל] מא י' עלם מן שפקה
אלנאם . . .

Cambridge.

J. L. TEICHER.

¹ See my paper, "Maimonides' Letter," etc., p. 46f.

² Freimann: המצות. In the Cambridge MS. the word is partly erased, but the first and last letters are clear.

³ The Hebrew text omits the words: מעשרה . . . אנמא.

⁴ The Hebrew text paraphrases wrongly: וישראל באים בה.

⁵ Name omitted in the Hebrew text.

⁶ אדמאן not translated in the Hebrew.

CURRENT LITERATURE

N. H. GOTTSTEIN, תחבירה
ומילונה של הלשון העברית
שבתחום השפעתה של הערבית.
(*Syntax and Vocabulary of
Medieval Hebrew as influenced
by Arabic*). Jerusalem, 1951.
Pp. 287.

It is a sad comment on the difficulties of publishing scholarly works in Israel—and by no means only in Israel—that a long-awaited and useful reference work like this had to appear in duplicated (not even photographically printed) typewritten sheets of often doubtful legibility. All the more pity because an enormous amount of labour must have gone into its making, representing the close examination of several dozen works both in Arabic and in (sometimes several) Hebrew translations. However, in spite of its unattractive exterior and high price, there cannot be any doubt that this book will be used and blessed by all who in future work in the field of Hebrew and Arabic philosophy.

The several hundred books which were translated from Arabic into Hebrew during the period from the twelfth to the fifteenth century introduced European Jewry to a new intellectual world. The Hebrew language was called upon to express ideas and ways of thinking far removed from those to which it had become so well fitted. The parallel of our own times springs to the mind, but there are important differences. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries worshipped style and would rather do violence to the language that could not express it. The early

translations from European languages into Modern Hebrew were of an artistic character; the expression of serious thought followed long afterwards, when the language had grown more able to carry it. Most important, the Jew who could understand such thought could also read European languages. Hence the translation of European works of a serious nature into Hebrew began practically only when the development of Palestinian Jewry had created an exclusively Hebrew-reading public. Even so, the accusation most commonly levelled against Modern Hebrew prose is that it transfers foreign modes of expression into Hebrew instead of finding original Hebrew equivalents. The Middle Ages had no such easy path. True, an attempt was made by Abraham bar Hiyya (d. ab. 1135) and Abraham ibn Ezra (d. 1167) to present and adapt Arab thought in original Hebrew compositions, but the Jewish public would have none of that, demanding faithful translations of the original works. The medieval idea of faithfulness was different from ours. The languages of modern Europe have grown up together and possess a vast stock of equivalent expressions which provide a sound basis for rendering the general sense; the rendering of the exotic and idiomatic thus becomes an exciting and harmless game. Medieval languages were utterly alien to each other; it was often in the renderings of simple logical relations that the greatest difficulties were encountered. How could Hebrew (or Latin for that matter) translate without violence to its own spirit such common features of

Arabic as the circumstantial clause or the *fa-* which establishes a logical link between sentences? The languages into which the translations were made, Hebrew and Latin, were themselves not currently spoken, and the translators could not rely on the instinct which guides a man in the use of his mother-tongue. The works that were translated were in themselves both difficult and vital, and every word mattered, or at least seemed to matter to the translator.

Thus it came that, in spite of the programmatic declarations several translators prefixed to their work, all of them, even the consummate artist Alharizi, admitted to their style constructions and usages which can only be termed Arabic in Hebrew words. Of course, once the reading public had become used to this style, later translators rendered the Arabic consciously into "Translation Hebrew," making no attempt to imitate the language of pre-translation literature, and further, quite unnecessary, arabisms were allowed to creep in. Soon, even original Hebrew compositions were couched in this style, which was, after all, admirably suited to the expression of the scientific thought of the period. Let us not forget that the Arabic from which the works in question were translated was also often of a character alien to genuine Arab prose and closer in spirit to late Greek. We may almost speak of an international language of science which only incidentally employed the raw material of Greek, Arabic, Latin, or Hebrew.

A jargon of this kind might have been thought worthy of attention only by students of linguistic curiosities, were it not for the value to the history of the human mind of the works extant in it, and often in it alone, which makes its

understanding a matter of vital importance to the historian of science and philosophy, as well as to the ordinary Jew who wishes to know the deeper meaning of his own religion. Before the appearance of the work under review, some studies on points of detail and sketchy impressions of the whole field had been published. Only the philosophical and scientific terminology had been collected and explained by J. Klatzkin in his four-volume "*'Osar ha-munahim ha-filosofiyyim*," and in several smaller studies mainly by Efros and Wolfson. It is Dr. Gottstein's merit to have surveyed the grammar and syntax of this language. He chose for this purpose a representative selection of works from different periods, different translators, and different literary genres, and included also the work of Qaraite translators and original Hebrew works in this style. Of one author only, Maimonides, did he use all the accessible works. His study is, therefore, in the nature of a first survey of the field, which in its very comprehensiveness is likely to serve mainly practical purposes, by showing what is possible and what is not. For the needs of linguistic history, the differences between schools of translators and periods will have to be studied in greater detail. The book proceeds on the whole from the order of the Arabic, showing how the various Arabic constructions have been reflected in Hebrew. Each example is accompanied by the Arabic original, wherever available. Ample comparative material from other periods of Hebrew is offered where it bears on the questions discussed. What we get in this way is a classified list of divergences between "Translation Hebrew" and other forms of the language. The author does not concern him-

self with the composition and origins of that part of "Translation Hebrew" which has not been influenced by Arabic and in which it resembles other Hebrew styles. There is a wide and interesting field of research here for future workers. Half the book consists of a select word list, recording words and usages which were changed under the impact of Arabic. Again this is a survey of what is possible and to be expected and does not aim at comprehensiveness. Preference is given to such phenomena as border on the syntactical, especially to the voices and government of verbs.

The grammatical terminology employed is that sponsored by the Hebrew Language Academy. To those whose Hebrew was acquired from the traditional grammar books, many of the terms will be strange, and the author has wisely provided an English list of chapter headings and an English index.

The Hebrew University may well be congratulated on having mothered, among its Ph.D. theses, a work of such lasting value.

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Oxford.

M. MAIMONIDES. *Ueber die Lebensdauer. Ein unediertes Responsum, herausgegeben, übersetzt und erklärt von Gotthold Weil.* Basel (Karger), 1953, pp. 59. Price 8.30 Swiss Francs.

Professor Weil presents here to the scholarly world the text of a Responsum discovered some seventy years ago, but never published, having rediscovered the MS. containing it in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The Responsum is preserved as quotation in a Yemenite commentary on the *Mishneh Torah*. The questioner

posed the problem whether man's span of life is predestined, and if so, how is this predestination affected by accidents. In Moslem circles the problem was phrased more piquantly: since man dies at a predestined moment, can a murderer be made responsible for carrying out God's intention? It is in the light of these Moslem discussions, and as absolute rejection of the Moslem form of belief in predestination, that we have to understand Maimonides' categorical reply, *la ajala 'indana*, "in our (Jewish) view there is no such thing as a predestined life-span." As against this Maimonides sides with Galen's view of natural death as a phenomenon of chemical decomposition of the "natural heat" (*emphyton thermon*). He then proceeds to a detailed discussion of the religious and medical evidence.

It is Weil's merit to have shown that in the original text the religious proofs came before the medical ones and that this order was changed by the author of the commentary for reasons of his own. This is important because it proves at the same time that we possess the complete Responsum. The Responsum shows beautifully how in Maimonides the religious and the medical scholar were blended. In spite of the utter disparateness (to our mind) of the religious material (verses from the Bible) and the medical material, his method is in both cases the same. There is no trace of arid scholasticism. Having shown that a number of biblical laws and statements would make nonsense if we were to assume absolute predestination, Maimonides goes on to discuss ways in which premature death can take place. At first glance this extended discussion, rigidly classified in the medieval manner and provided with numer-

ous examples, seems to have little bearing on the problem, but the intention appears to be this: to prove that premature death is an unbalancing of the thermal economy of the body, hence not different in character from natural death.

Weil has done a fine job in restoring the rather corrupt text of the MS. and translating the difficult and condensed argument. In his notes and excurses he places the

Responsum in its proper background and indicates the literary connections. There is a welcome exposition of Galenic physiology, as far as required for the understanding of the matters discussed. The Arabic text of the Responsum is printed in Hebrew characters; in the notes the Arabic of Moslems is printed in Arabic, the Arabic of Jews in Hebrew characters.

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Oxford.